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THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

THE WORKS OF SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

VOLUME I

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

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THE WORKS OF SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

IN SIX VOLUMES

REPRINTED, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY SIX CANADIAN SCHOLARS UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF

H. P. BIGGAR

VOLUME I

1599–1607

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY
H. H. LANGTON AND W. F. GANONG

THE FRENCH TEXTS COLLATED BY
J. HOME CAMERON

WITH A PORTFOLIO OF PLATES AND MAPS

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY
1922

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

'A GOOD captain,' wrote Champlain, 'must be hardy and active, possess good sea-legs, and prove himself untiring at his work, so that whatever happens he may be able to appear on deck, and in a loud voice issue orders to his crew. Occasionally he should not disdain to lend a hand himself. He should know his vessel's hull, and also have some experience of her sailing qualities. He should see that the store-rooms are dry, that the stores are of good quality and sufficient in quantity, with too much rather than too little, since the length of the voyage is dependent entirely upon the weather. Prayers should be held night and morning, and the routine of the day carried out in an orderly manner. The decks must be well scrubbed and the ship kept clean after the manner of the Dutch, who therein surpass all other sea-faring nations.

'In converse a captain should be quiet and affable, but peremptory in his orders, and on not too familiar terms with his ship's company except with the officers. Disobedience he should punish severely, but he should encourage good behaviour, both by showing affection and by the grant of an occasional favour.

'He should keep a compass of his own, and should consult it frequently to see that the right course is being steered. He must also make sure that every man of each watch is doing his duty. Night he must turn into day and remain on duty the greater part of each night, lying down always in his clothes, ready in case of an accident to appear on deck quickly. Should an accident happen, the captain must give proof of a manly courage, and even in the face of death make light of this, and issuing his orders in a calm voice incite each to be courageous and to do everything possible to clear the danger.'

Such a captain in all probability was Champlain himself, who in his *Treaty of Navigation* here quoted doubtless drew a picture of the ideal at which he also had aimed. Of his early life we know nothing beyond what he tells us at the beginning of his West Indian voyage, printed on pages 3–80 of this volume. He made his first voyage to Canada apparently in 1603, the account of which, published in Paris on his return, is here printed on pages 83–189.

From 1604 to 1607 Champlain was engaged from Monts' headquarters on Ste. Croix island and at Port Royal in exploring and mapping the Acadian and New England coast as far south as Stage harbour in Nantucket Sound. His account of these explorations, which forms Book I of the work published by him at Paris in 1613, completes this first volume (pp. 207–469).

The remainder of that work will form volume II of this present edition. Champlain therein describes the foundation of Quebec in 1608, his fight with the Iroquois on Lake Champlain in July, 1609, his visits to the St. Lawrence in the summers of 1610 and 1611, and finally his journey in 1613 up the Ottawa river as far as Allumette island.

Champlain's fourth work, published at Paris in 1619, will be reprinted in our third volume. In this he gives a description of his visits to the Hurons near Lake Simcoe in the summer of 1615, of their expedition across Lake Ontario against the Iroquois in that autumn, of his winter in the Huron country, and of his return to France in 1616, with an account of his visit to the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1618. This third volume will also contain the first two books of Part I of the collected edition of his discoveries, which Champlain brought out at Paris in 1632. The remainder of Part I of that work will form volume IV of this new edition, while Part II will be reprinted in volumes V and VI. This second part of the 1632 edition contains an account of events in New France from 1620 to 1632,

including the capture of Quebec by the English in 1629, and its restoration to France in 1632 by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. Champlain did not return to Quebec till the summer of 1633, and died there on Christmas Day 1635.

Well has Champlain earned for himself the title of 'Father of New France.' From 1603, when he first visited the St. Lawrence, until his death he devoted all his energies and all his thoughts to the discovery, occupation, and colonisation of that country. His works dispelled the darkness in which hitherto New France had been enshrouded. By his letters to the king, to Richelieu, and to the Chamber of Commerce he endeavoured in every way to further the development of this colony, which he explored from the Bay of Fundy on the east to Lake Huron on the west, and from Lake Champlain in the south to Lake Nipissing in the north.

That Champlain's achievements are not more familiar to English-speaking Canadians must be attributed in part to the absence hitherto of any complete version of his works in English. French-Canadians on the other hand have at their disposal the excellent edition of Champlain's works published in 1870 under the auspices of Laval University, by the late Abbé C. H. Laverdière. That scholar spared neither time, trouble, nor labour to make his edition worthy in every respect of the founder of Quebec. When the text was ready for the press a fire unfortunately destroyed the building in which it was being printed. One proof was saved, and with this editor and publisher courageously set to work again. The result was the so-called second edition published at Quebec by George E. Desbarats in 1870, which does so much honour alike to the editor and to the publisher.[1] That

[1] *Œuvres de Champlain, publiées sous le patronage de l'Université Laval*, par l'abbé C. H. Laverdière, M.A., Professeur d'histoire à la Faculté des Arts et Bibliothécaire de l'Université. Seconde édition. Québec: Imprimé au Séminaire par Geo. E. Desbarats. 1870. 6 vols in-quarto.

edition has always enjoyed everywhere a deservedly high reputation.[1]

Hitherto, only portions of Champlain's works have appeared in English. Samuel Purchas in 1625 translated the *Des Sauvages* of 1603[2] and that translation has been frequently reprinted.[3] In 1859 the Hakluyt Society brought out an English version of the West Indian voyage,[4] the French text of which was first printed in 1870 by Laverdière.[5] Between 1878 and 1882 the Prince Society of Boston issued translations by C. P. Otis of the volumes published by Champlain at Paris in 1613 and 1619,[6] but no portion of the 1632 collected edition of Champlain's travels ever appeared in English until 1906, when Mrs. E. G. Bourne translated Part I of this work, with the exception of the last chapter.[7] This chapter and the whole of Part II of that work will thus appear in English for the first time in volumes V and VI of the present edition. The last volume will also contain Champlain's *Treatise on Navigation*, a work never yet done into English.

[1] *Cf.* Abbé Auguste Gosselin, *Le vrai monument de Champlain : ses Œuvres éditées par Laverdière* in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. 3rd ser. II. i. 2–23. Ottawa. 1908.

[2] *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, the fourth part, 1605–1619. London, 1625.

[3] In the Prince Society's edition, I. 225–291 (Boston. 1881); in A. N. Bourne, *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain*, ii. 149–229 (New York. 1906); and in the reprint of Purchas, *op. cit.*, xviii. 188–226 (Glasgow. 1906).

[4] *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the years 1599–1602*, translated by Alice Wilmere; edited by Norton Shaw. London (Hakluyt Society). 1859.

[5] Laverdière, *op. cit.* i. 1–48, with 62 plates.

[6] *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, translated from the French by Charles Pomeroy Otis, Ph.D., with historical illustrations and a memoir by the Rev. Edmund F. Shafter, A.M. 3 vols. Boston: The Prince Society. 1878, 1880 and 1882. In 1907 Mr. W. L. Grant reissued this translation in his *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604–1618*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, in the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History*, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, LL.D.

[7] *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain (1604–1616) Narrated by himself*, translated by Annie Nettleton Bourne, with introduction and notes by Edward Gaylord Bourne. 2 vols. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. (The Trail Makers Series). 1906.

For this first translation of the second part of the 1632 edition of Champlain's travels the Society is indebted to the late Mr. W. D. LeSueur of Ottawa, whose death is deeply regretted by all friends of Canadian historical studies. Our Society has also to deplore the loss of Professor P. Cultru of the Sorbonne at Paris, who was to edit these French texts. His duties have been undertaken and his methods adopted by Professor J. Home Cameron of the University of Toronto, to whose industry and care the accuracy of the texts here printed is entirely due.

Only one of Champlain's works has come down to us in manuscript, and that is his West Indian voyage of 1599, the MS. of which is now preserved in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, R.I. Through the kindness of Mr. George Parker Winship, photostats were made of the whole of this MS., and with these the text here printed has been carefully collated. Miss Gertrude Robson, the Assistant Librarian, has also been good enough to compare the proof with the original MS. Furthermore the Committee of Management, as an exceptional privilege, allowed this precious MS. to be taken to Boston so that reproductions in colour might be made of the sixty-two illustrations reproduced in the portfolio. For this great favour the members of the Champlain Society are under a deep debt of gratitude to the Library Trustees. Our thanks are also due to Mr. William Fawcett, late Director of Public Gardens at Jamaica, for his kindness in identifying the fauna and flora mentioned in that work.

The text of the *Des Sauvages* is here printed from the original volume, copies of which are to be found in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève at Paris. The Bibliothèque Nationale also possesses a unique copy bearing the date 1604, wherein many of the printer's errors of the original have been corrected. Variant readings in this 1604 edition have been indicated in the notes to the text here printed.

The text of Book I of the work published by Champlain at Paris in 1613 has been printed from the original edition, copies of which are to be found in most important libraries, even as far afield as Canada. Variants in the texts of the copies examined have been indicated in the notes.

From the above texts have been made the translations. The West Indian voyage and the *Des Sauvages* have been translated with great care by Mr. H. H. Langton, the Librarian of the University of Toronto, while Book I of the 1613 edition has been done into English afresh by Professor W. F. Ganong, of Smith College, Northampton, Mass., who has also compiled maps of all the harbours charted by Champlain. The members of the Society are most fortunate in being able thus to compare Champlain's maps with modern drawings of the same localities. Professor Ganong has also drawn the large general map (Plate LXXXII) to illustrate the travels of Champlain set forth in this volume. It is with great pleasure that the editor acknowledges also the valuable help received from Professor Ganong towards the solution of the many difficult problems connected with Champlain's explorations. He wishes to thank also Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton, O.B.E., for help in identifying the types of vessels of that period. The collaborators have done their work well and deserve the thanks of the members of the Society. The editor alone is to blame for any errors that may exist.

On the completion of the publication of this new edition it is hoped to bring out a supplementary volume containing the original texts of Champlain's letters and papers, any contemporary documents bearing upon his career, and a general index to the whole work. Possibly a detailed biography may also be included.

TRUSCA,
GODALMING, SURREY,
8 *June*, 1921

H. P. BIGGAR

PART I

BRIEF NARRATIVE

OF THE

MOST REMARKABLE THINGS

THAT

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN OF BROUAGE

observed in the West Indies, 1599–1601

translated and edited by

H. H. LANGTON

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO PARTS I AND II

THE English translations of Champlain's West Indies Voyage and *Des Sauvages* in this volume have been made with constant reference to previous versions. For the West Indies Voyage the only earlier translation is that by Miss Alice Wilmere, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1859. For the *Des Sauvages* Voyage the ancient version in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* was consulted, as well as Otis's translation with Slafter's notes, published by the Prince Society of Boston. Acknowledgment is also due for the use of the notes appended to these translations and to the edition of the French text by the late Abbé C. H. Laverdière, published at Quebec in 1870. Wherever in this volume is reproduced the substance of a note contained in any of the former editions, the source is indicated by a reference in brackets. Where a note of a former editor or translator is quoted for matters of common knowledge, such as geographical distances, the reference means that the present editor has not been in a position to verify the statement and, therefore, relies upon its accuracy. For the identification of plants and animals the paper by Professor W. F. Ganong, *The Identity of Animals and Plants mentioned in the Early Voyages to Eastern Canada and Newfoundland* (Roy. Soc. Can. Trans., 1911) has been accepted as the most recent and reliable authority in such matters.

H. H. LANGTON

THE LIBRARY,
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO,
December 1916.

BRIEF DISCOVRS

DES CHOSES PLVS REMARQVABLES

QVE SAMMVEL CHAMPLAIN DE BROVAGE[1]

A RECONNEUES AUX INDES OCCIDENTALLES

Au voiage qu'il en a faict en icelles en l'année mil v^c. iiij.^xx [xix.][a] et en l'année mil vj^c. j. comme ensuit

[a] MS. illisible.

BRIEF NARRATIVE

OF THE MOST REMARKABLE THINGS

THAT SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN OF BROUAGE[1]

OBSERVED IN THE WEST INDIES

During the voyage which he made to them, in the year one thousand five hundred and fourscore and nineteen and in the year one thousand six hundred and one—as follows.

[1] A town near Rochefort in the Charente-Inférieure, formerly a considerable seaport. The harbour since 1586 has been filled with mud. See *Acadiensis*, iv. 1904, 226 *et seq.*

Brief discours des choses plus
remarquables que Samuel Champlain
de brouage a reconneues aux Indes
occidentalles au voiage quil en a faict
en icelles en lannee mil ~~vi~~ vi^c iiij^xx
et en lannee mil vi^c ii comme ensuit

Ayant este employe en larmee du Roy qui estoit en
bretaigne soubz messieurs le mareschal damuont de St Luc
et mareschal de brissac en qualite de marechal des logis de
lad. armee durant quelques annees et jusques a ce que sa ma^{ste}
eust en lannee 1598 reduict en son obeissance ledit pais de
brestaigne eus licencier son armee me voyant par ce moyen sans
aucune charge ny employ je me resolus pour ne demeurer oysif
de trouuer moyen de faire vng voiage en espaigne en y estant
pratiquer et acquerir des cognoissances pour par leur faveur
entremise faire en sorte de pouuoir menbarquer dans quelque
des nauires de la flotte que le Roy despaigne enuoye tous
les ans aux Indes occidentalles affin dy pouuoir myenbarquer
des particularites qui nous peu estre recongneues par aucuns
francoys acause quilz ny ont nul accez libre pour a mon
retour en faire rapport au vray a sa magestee pour soyt
parvenir a mon dessein je men allay a blauet ou lors il
auoit garnison despaignolz auquel lieu je trouuay vng

FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE *BRIEF DISCOURS* MS.

To face p. 3.

BRIEF DISCOVRS

1. 1. AYANT esté employé en l'armée du Roy [1] qui estois [a] en Bretaigne soubz messieurs le mareschal d'Aumont,[2] de St. Luc,[3] et mareschal de Brissac,[4] en qualité de marechal des logis [5] de ladicte armée durant quelques années, et jusques à ce que sa maiesté eust en l'année 1598 reduict en son obeissance ledis [a] païs de Brestaigne, eus licencier [a] son armée, me voyant par ce moyen sans aucune charge ny enploy, je me resolus, pour ne demeurer oysif, de trouuer moyen de faire vng voiage en

[a] *Sic.*

BRIEF NARRATIVE

HAVING been employed in the king's [1] army which was in Brittany, under Messieurs the Maréchal d'Aumont,[2] de St. Luc,[3] and the Maréchal de Brissac,[4] in the capacity of quartermaster [5] in the said army for some years, and until his Majesty, in the year 1598, reduced the said country of Brittany to obedience, and dismissed his army; and seeing myself thereby without any charge or employment, I resolved, so as not to remain idle, to find means to make a voyage to Spain, and, being there, to

[1] Henri IV.

[2] Jean d'Aumont (1522–95), created Marshal of France in 1579 by Henri III. He was sent to Brittany by Henri IV to oppose the Duc de Mercœur, and was killed at the siege of Camper, August 19, 1595.

[3] François d'Espinay de Saint-Luc (1554–97), made Grand Master of the Artillery in 1596. He was killed in battle, September 8, 1597.

[4] Charles II de Cossé-Brissac, brother-in-law of Saint-Luc, created Marshal of France in 1594. He served in the war in Brittany until its close.

[5] A non-commissioned officer of cavalry, corresponding in rank to a sergeant of infantry. His duties related chiefly to the housing of his troop.

Espaigne, en y estant pratiquer et acquerir des cognoissances pour par leur faueur [et] entremise faire en sorte de pouuoir m'enbarquer dans quelqu'vn des nauires de la flotte que le Roy d'Espaigne enuoye tous les ans aux Indes occidentalles, affin d'y pouuoir m'y enbarquer des particuliarités qui n'ons peu estre recongneues par aucuns Françoys, à cause qu'ilz n'y ont nul accez libre, pour à mon retour en faire rapport au vray à sa magesté. Pour donc paruenir à mon desseing, je m'en allay à Blauet,[1] où lors il y auoit garnison d'Espaignolz, auquel lieu je trouuay vng mien oncle nommé Fol. 1v. le Cappitainne Pr[ouençal,][a] teneu pour vng des bons mariniers de France, et qui en ceste qualité auoict esté entreteneu par le Roy d'Espaigne comme pillotte general en leurs armées de mer. Mondict oncle ayant receu commandement

[a] Déchirure.

---

acquire and cultivate acquaintances, in order, by their favour and intermediary, to manage to embark in some one of the ships of the fleet which the king of Spain sends every year to the West Indies; to the end that I might be able there to make inquiries into particulars of which no Frenchmen have succeeded in obtaining cognizance, because they have no free access there, in order to make true report of them to his Majesty on my return. To accomplish my design then, I went to Blavet,[1] where at that time was a garrison of Spaniards, in which place I found an uncle of mine named Captain Provençal, who was considered to be one of France's first-rate seamen, and who, in that capacity, had been commissioned by the king of Spain as Pilot-General of their sea forces. My said uncle having received command

[1] Now Port Louis, a fortified town on the south coast of Brittany, opposite Lorient at the mouth of the river Blavet. It was the last place to be evacuated by the Spaniards after the peace of Vervins, concluded in Lescarbot's birthplace, May 2, 1598.

de monsieur le mareschal de Brissac, de conduire les nauires dans lesquelz l'on feist embarquer les Espaignolz de la garnison dudict Blauet, pour les repasser en Espaigne, ainsy qu'il leur auoir [a] esté promis, je m'enbarquay auec luy dans vng grand nauire du port de cinq centz thonneaux, nommé le St Gulian,[1] qui auoit esté pris et arresté pour ledict voiage. En estans partis dudict Blauet au commencement du moys d'aoust, nous ariuasmes dix jours apres proche du cap de Finneterre,[2] que nous ne peusmes reconnoistre à cause d'vnne grande brume qui se leua de la mer, au moyen de laquelle tous nos vaisseaux se separerent, et mesme notre admirande de la flotte se pensa perdre, ayant touché à vnne roche, et pris force eau, dans lequel nauire et à toute la flotte commandoit le general Soubriago [3] qui auoit esté

[a] *Sic.*

---

from Maréchal de Brissac to conduct the ships in which were embarked the Spaniards of the garrison of Blavet to be taken back to Spain, as had been promised them, I embarked with him in a great ship of five hundred tons' burden, named the *St. Julien*,[1] which had been hired and engaged for the said voyage; and having quitted Blavet in it at the beginning of the month of August, we arrived ten days afterwards in the neighbourhood of Cape Finisterre,[2] which we could not see on account of a great fog that arose from the sea, whereby all our vessels were scattered. Indeed the flag-ship of the fleet was nearly lost, having touched upon a rock, and taken in much water; in which ship, and over the whole fleet, General Zubiaur [3] held command, having been sent by the

[1] The *St. Julien* belonged to Julien de Montigny de La Hottière, Governor of Vannes, whose contract for the transport of these Spaniards, dated July 15, 1598, will be found in Gaston de Carné's *Correspondance du duc de Mercœur*, ii. 158–60 (Rennes, 1899). The *St. Julien* was employed in the Newfoundland fishing-trade (*ibid.*, 162).

[2] The north-west point of the Iberian Peninsula, about 350 English (300 geographical) miles from Blavet. See Plate I in the portfolio.

[3] Don Pedro Zubiaur. See Martin A. S. Hume, *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*: Elizabeth, vols. ii., iii. and iv. under this name.

enuoié par le Roy d'Espaigne à Blauet pour cest effect. Le lendemain le temps s'estans esclarcy, tous nos mariniers se reioignirent ensemble, et feusmes aux illes de Bayonne [1] en Gallice, pour faire radouber ledict nauire admiral qui s'estoict fort offencé. [PLANCHE I.] Fol. 2.

Ayant seiorné six jours ausdictes illes nous feismes voille, et allasmes reconnoistre le cap de sainct Vincent [2] troys jours apres. Ledict cap est figuré en la page suiuante. [PLANCHE II.] Fol. 2v.

Ledict cap estant doublé nous allasmes au port de Callix,[3] dans lequel estans entrés, les gens de guerre furent mis à terre, apres laquelle descente les nauires françoys qui auoient esté arrestés pour traict [a] furent congediez et renuoyez, chacun en son lieu, hors mis ledict nauire sainct Gulian, qui ayant esté reconneu par ledict Soubriago general vng fort

[a] *Sic*, pour *fraict*.

---

king of Spain to Blavet for that purpose. On the following day, the weather having cleared, all our sailors came together again, and we proceeded to the islands of Bayona,[1] in Galicia, to refit the said flag-ship which was much injured. [PLATE I.]

Having sojourned six days at the said islands, we set sail, and three days afterwards came in sight of Cape St. Vincent,[2] which is figured on the following page. [PLATE II.]

We doubled the said cape, and proceeded to the port of Cadiz,[3] where, after we had entered, the soldiers were disembarked. After landing these, the French ships that had been engaged for transport were paid off and sent away, each to its own place, except the said *St. Julien*, which, as General Zubiaur had noticed it to be a staunch ship and a

[1] The Cies Islands which lie across the mouth of Vigo Bay. See Plate I.

[2] The south-west point of Portugal. See Plate II.

[3] Cadiz, spelled by Champlain indifferently, Calis, Calix, Callis or Callix, one of the chief ports of Spain on the Atlantic coast, about twenty-five miles from the strait of Gibraltar.

nauire et bon de voille, fust par luy arresté pour faire seruice au Roy d'Espagne, et par ainsy ledict cappitaine Prouençal mon oncle demeura tousiours en iceluy, et seiournames audict lieu de Calis vn moys entier, durant lequel j'eu le moyen de reconnoistre l'isle dudict Callis, dont la figure
Fol. 3. ensuit. [PLANCHE III.]

Partants dudict Calix nous fusmes à St Luc de Barame[do],[1] qui est à l'entrée de la riuiere de Siuille, où nous demeur[ames] troys moys, durant lesquelz je feuz à Siuille, en pris le [plan [a]] de l'un et de l'autre, que j'ay jugé à propos de repres[enter] au mieux qu'il m'a esté possible en ceste page
Ff. 3v-4. et en la sui[uante]. [PLANCHES IV ET V.]

Pendant les troys moys que nous feusmes de seiour

[a] Déchirure. On peut supposer *plan*.

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good sailer, he engaged for the service of the king of Spain: and thus the said Captain Provençal, my uncle, still remained on board. We sojourned at the said town of Cadiz a whole month, during which I had an opportunity of examining the island of Cadiz, the picture of which follows. [PLATE III.]

Departing from Cadiz, we proceeded to Sanlucar de Barrameda,[1] which is at the entrance of the river of Seville, where we remained three months. During this time I went to Seville, made a drawing of it and one of the other place [Sanlucar de Barrameda] which I have thought fit to represent to the best of my ability on this and on the following page. [PLATES IV AND V.]

During the three months we stayed at Sanlucar de Barra-

[1] At the mouth of the Guadalquivir. It was once a great port but is now little more than a seaside resort, having lost its trade to Cadiz. Seville lies about seventy miles up the Guadalquivir, which was often spoken of as the "river of Seville." See Rafael Antunez y Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la Legislación y Gobierno del Comercio de los Españoles con sus colonias*, 85.

audict S^t [Luc] de Baramedo il y arriua vne patache[1] d'aduis, venant de Porto[ricco,] pour aduertir le Roy de Espaigne que l'armée d'Angletterre es[toit] en mer auec Fol. 4^v. desseing d'aller prendre ledict Portoricco. Sur lequel aduis ledict Roy d'Esspaigne, pour le secourir, fist dresser vnne armée du nombre de vinct vaisseaux et de deux mille hommes en soldatz que mariniers, entre lesquelz nauires celuy nommé le St Ieulian fust reteneu, et fust commandé à mon oncle de faire le voiage en iceluy, donc je receuz vnne euxtresme joye, me promettant par ce moien de satisfaire à mon desir, et pource je me resolus fort aisement d'aller auec luy ; mais quelque diligence que l'on peut faire à radouber, auitaller et esquipper lesdictz vaisseaux, auant que pouuoir estre mis à la mer, et sur le poinct que nous debuions partir pour aller audict Portoricco, il arriua des nouuelles par vnne patache d'aduis qu'il auois esté pris des

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meda, there arrived an advice-boat[1] from Porto Rico, to inform the king of Spain that the English force was at sea, with intent to capture the said Porto Rico, upon which information the king of Spain, in order to succour it, had an armament prepared, to the number of twenty vessels and two thousand men, both soldiers and sailors ; among which ships that named the *St. Julien* was retained, and command was given to my uncle to make the voyage in her, which gave great joy to me, promising myself by this means to satisfy my desire ; and therefore I very readily resolved to go with him. But whatever diligence could be made to refit, victual, and equip the said vessels, before they could put to sea, and just when we were on the point of taking our departure to go to the said Porto Rico, news arrived by another advice-boat that it had been taken by the

[1] The patache was a pinnace : *patache d'avis*, a patache bearing dispatches. See pp. 22, 30, 35, 66, 71 and 280 *infra*.

Anglois,[1] au moien de quoy ledict voiage fust rompu à mon grand regret pour me voir frustré de mon esperance.

Or en mesme temps l'armée du Roy d'Espaigne, qui a accoustumé d'aller tous les ans aux Indes, s'appareilloit audict St Luc où il vins de la part dudict Roy vng seigneur nommé Domp Francisque Colombe,[2] Cheualier de Malte, pour estre general de ladicte armée, lequel voiant nostre vaisseau appareillé et prest à seruir, en sachant par
Fol. 5. le rapport qu'on luy auois fais, qu'il estoit fort bon de voille pour son port, il resolut de s'en seruir, et le prendre au fraict ordinaire, qui est vng escu[3] pour thonniau par mois, de sorte que j'eus occasion de me resiouir voiant naistre

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English;[1] in consequence of which the voyage was abandoned, to my great regret at seeing myself frustrated of my hope.

Now at this time the armament of the king of Spain, which is wont to go every year to the Indies, was fitting out at the said Sanlucar, and there came from the said king a nobleman named Don Francisco Coloma,[2] a knight of Malta, to be general of the said armament; who, seeing our vessel fitted out and ready for service, and knowing by the report which had been made to him that for its burden it was a very good sailer, resolved to make use of it, and to take it at the ordinary freight, which is one crown[3] per ton per month; so that I had occasion to rejoice seeing my hopes revive, the

[1] The English force that captured Porto Rico was a privateering flotilla of twenty sail, fitted out by the Earl of Cumberland. It sailed from Plymouth on March 6, 1598, and appeared before San Juan, the capital of Porto Rico, on June 6th. Having captured the town, the Earl left his second-in-command, Sir John Barkley, with the better part of his fleet to arrange for the ransom of the island. *Vid.* Julian S. Corbett, *The Successors of Drake*, 240–50 (London, 1900).

[2] *Vid.* Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, iii. 169, and note 2 (Madrid, 1897).

[3] *Cf.* E Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, v., pt. i., 267. "L'écu d'or au soleil varia de 1 livre 16 sous à 2 livres 5 sous tournois." Taking the *livre tournois* at four francs, the *écu* would be worth eight to nine francs.

mon esperance, d'autant mesme que le Cappitaine Prouençal, mon oncle, ayant esté reteneu par le general Soubriago pour seruir ailleurs, et ne pouuant faire le voiage, me commist la charge dudict vaisseau pour auoir esgard à iceluy, que j'acceptay fort vollontiers, et sur ce nous fusmes trouuer ledict sieur general Colombe pour sauoir s'il auroit agreable que je fisses le voiage ; ce qu'il me promist librement, auec des tesmoignages d'en estre fort aise, m'ayant promis sa faueur en assistance, qu'il ne m'a depuis desniés aux occasions.

Ladict armée fist à la voille à commencement du mois de januier de l'an 1599, et trouuans tousiours le vent fort aigre, dans six jours aprez nous reconusmes les illes Canaries.[1] [PLANCHE VI.] Fol. 5v.

Partant desdictes illes Canaries nous allasmes passer par le goulphe de Las Damas, avec vent en pouppe, qui nous continua de façon que deux mois six jours apres nostre parte-

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more so that Captain Provençal, my uncle, having been engaged by General Zubiaur to serve elsewhere, and unable to make the voyage, committed to me the charge and care of the said ship, which I accepted very willingly : and thereupon we sought out General Coloma, to know if it would suit him that I should make the voyage. This he freely granted me, with evidence of being well pleased thereat, promising me his favour and assistance, which he has not since denied me upon occasions.

The said armament set sail in the beginning of the month of January of the year 1599, and with a very steady cutting wind in six days we sighted the Canary Islands.[1] [PLATE VI.]

Departing from the Canary Islands, we passed by the Ladies' Gulf, with the wind astern, which held so well that two months and six days after our departure from

[1] A group of islands not far from the African coast, about 500 miles south-west of Spain. The route from Spain to the Indies was by way of them.

ment de St Luca nous eusmes la veue d'vnne ille nommée La Deseade,[1] qui est la premiere ille qui faut que les pillottes recognoissent nesessairement pour aler en toutes les
Fol. 6. autres illes et portz des Indes. Ceste ille est ronde, asses hault en mer, et contien en rond sept lieux, plaine de bois et inhabitée, mais il y a bonne radde à la bande de l'est.

[PLANCHE VII.]

De ladicte Isle nous feusmes à vnne autre isle nommée la Gardalouppe,[2] qui est fort montaigneuse, habitée de sauuages, en laquelle il y a quantité de bons portz, à l'vn desquelz, nommé Nacou[3] nous feusmes prendre de l'eau, et
Fol. 6v. comme nous mettions pied à terre nous veismes plus de trois centz sauuaiges qui s'en fuirent dedans les montaignes sans

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Sanlucar we came in view of an island named the Desired,[1] which is the first island that pilots must needs sight in making for all the other islands and ports of the Indies. This island is round, tolerably high above the sea, and is seven leagues in circumference, full of trees and uninhabited, but there is good anchorage on the eastern side. [PLATE VII.]

From the said island we passed to another island, called Guadeloupe,[2] which is very mountainous and peopled by savages; and in it are a number of good havens, to one of which, named Nacou,[3] we went to take in water, and as we landed we saw more than three hundred savages, who fled away into the mountains without it being in our power to

[1] La Deseada, or Désirade, lying five miles to the east of Guadeloupe, was so named by Columbus from its being the first landfall on his second voyage. It is six miles long and a mile and a quarter wide. See Plate VII.

[2] One of the Lesser Antilles. It has belonged to France since 1635, when it was first settled by Du Plessis and Lolive.

[3] This, to judge from the drawing made by Champlain, is evidently his name for Grande Bay on the south side of Guadeloupe, inside Petit Cul-de-sac Marin, at the head of which is the modern town of Pointe-à-Pitre, the capital. There is a Macou Point and Island on the north coast of Guadeloupe.

qu'il fust à nostre puissance d'en attrapper vn seul, estant plus dispostz à la course que tous ceux des nostres qui les voulurent suiure. Ce que voiant, nous en retournasmes dans nos vaisseaux apres auoir pris de l'eau et quelques refreschissementz, comme chair et fruictz de plaisans goust. Ceste ile contien enuiron vingt lieux de long et douze de lage,[a] dont la forme est telle que la figure suiuante.[1]

[PLANCHE VIII.]

Apres auoir demeuré deux jours audict port de Nacou, Fol. 7. le troisiesme jour nous nous remismes à la mer, et passasmes entre deus iles que l'on nomme bas Birgines,[2] qui sont en telle quantité que l'on n'en a peu dire le nombre au certain ; mais bien qu'il y en a plus de huict centz descouuertes. Elles

[a] *Sic.*

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overtake a single one of them, they being more nimble in running than all our men who tried to follow them. Seeing this, we returned to our ships, after having taken in water and some fresh food, such as meat and fruits of pleasant savour. This island is about twenty leagues long and twelve broad, and its form is shown in the following figure.[1]

[PLATE VIII.]

Having remained two days in the said haven of Nacou, on the third day we again put to sea, and passed between the islands called the Virgins,[2] which are so many that their number cannot be told for certain, although more than eight hundred have been discovered. They are all

[1] Guadeloupe is divided into Grande Terre, twenty-three miles long, and Basse Terre to the west, of the same length. The former is from five to twelve miles in width, and the latter thirteen.

[2] Las Virgines, or Virgin Islands, a group of about 100 small islands and cays lying east of Porto Rico and separated by a deep channel from the northernmost member of the Lesser Antilles. The Virgin Islands are now divided politically between England, Denmark, and the United States. See Plate IX.

sont toutes desertes et inhabitées, la terre fort haulte, plainne de bois, mesmes de palmes et ramasques[a] [1] qui y sont communes comme les chesnes et ormeaux par deça. Il y a grande quanté de bons portz et haures entre lesdictes illes qui sont icy aucunement figurés.

[PLANCHE IX.]

ol. 7v. D'icelles isles nous feusmes à l'isle de la Marguerite,[2] où se peschent les perles. Dans ceste ile y a vnne bonne ville que l'on appelle du mesme nom la Marguevite.[b] Elle est fort fertille en bleds et fruictz. Il lont[c] tous les iours du port de ladicte ville plus de trois centz canaulx qui vont à vne lieue à la mer pescher lesdictes pelles[d] à dix ou douze brasses d'eau. Ladicte pesche se faict par les naigres,

[a] Peut-etre de l'italien *ramazza*, grosse branche.
[b] *Sic.* [c] *Sic*, pour *sort*.
[d] *Sic.*

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desert and uninhabited; the land is very high and covered with trees, especially palms and ramasques,[1] which are common in those parts like oaks and elms with us. There are a great number of good harbours and havens among the said islands which are in a rough way represented here. [PLATE IX.]

From these islands we sailed to Margarita island,[2] where pearls are fished for. In this island there is a fine town, called by the same name, Margarita. It [the island] produces grains and fruits abundantly. Every day from the harbour of the said town more than three hundred canoes go a league out to sea to fish for the said pearls, in ten or twelve fathoms of water. The fishing is done by negro

[1] The editor of the Hakluyt Society's translation of this Voyage has in a note—"*ramasques*, wide-spreading, branching, and bushy trees." See note *a*, *supra*.

[2] An island off the Venezuelan coast in lat. 11°, long. 64°. The pearl-fishing was carried on off Coche, a small island between it and the mainland, but the beds have been long since exhausted. See Plates X and XI.

esclaues du Roy d'Espaigne, qui prennent vng petit panier soubz le bras, et auec iceluy plongent au fons de la mer, et l'enplissent d'ostionnes [1] qui semblent d'huistries, puis remontent dans leurs canaulx avec lesquelz ilz retournent dans ledict port se descharger au lieu à ce destiné, où sont les officiers dudict Roy qui les reçoiuent. [PLANCHES X ET XI.] Fol. 8.

De ladicte isle nous allasmes à Portoricco,[2] que nous trouuasmes fort desolé, tant tant la ville que le chatiau ou forteresse qui est fort bonne, et le port bien bon et à l'abry de tous ventz fors de nordest qui donne droict dans ledict port. La ville est [a] marchande : elle auoit esté puis peu de Fol. 8v. tens pillée des Anglois, [qui] [b] auoient laissé des marques

[a] Lacune dans le manuscrit : on peut suppléer *fort*.
[b] Déchirure.

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slaves of the king of Spain, who take a little basket under their arm, and with it plunge to the bottom of the sea, and fill it with ostionnes,[1] which resemble oysters ; then they get into their canoes and return to the said port to unload at the place assigned for that purpose, where are the king's officers to receive them. [PLATES X AND XI.]

From this island we went to Porto Rico,[2] which we found much desolated, the town as well as the castle or fortress, which is very strong ; the harbour is very good, and sheltered from all winds, except the north-east, which blows straight into it. The town is [rather] commercial ; it had, shortly before, been pillaged by the English, who had left traces

[1] A word not found in French dictionaries, but Spanish dictionaries give the form *ostiones* as in use in Cuba.

[2] The large island of Porto Rico was occupied by the Spaniards in 1509. Unsuccessfully attacked by Drake and Hawkins in 1596, it was taken by surprise by the Earl of Cumberland in 1598, as this narrative shows ; but was soon abandoned owing to the ravages of fever among the small English force. The town referred to is Port San Juan, the capital, on the north coast. *Vid.* Plate XII, Corbett, *op. cit., loc. cit.*, and G. C. Williamson, *George, Third Earl of Cumberland*, 180-96 (Cambridge, 1920).

de leur veneue. La plus part des maisons estoient brulés, et ne s'y trouua pas quatre personnes outre quelques naigres qui nous dirent que les marchandz dudict lieu auoient esté la plus part enmenés prisonniers par les Anglois, et les autres qui auoient peu fuir s'estoient sauuez dans les montaignes, d'où ilz n'auoient encor osé sortir pour l'aprehension qu'ilz auoient du retour desdictz Anglois, lesquelz auoient chargé tous les douze nauires dont leur armée estoit composée, de sucres, cuirs, gingenbre, or, et argent ; car nous trouuasmes encor en ladicte ville quantité de sucres, gingenbre, canifiste, miel de cannes, et conserue de gingembre que les Anglois n'auoient peu charger. Il[z] emporterent aussy cinquante pieces d'artillerie de fonde qu'ilz prindrent dans la forteresse en laquelle nous feusmes, et trouuasmes toute ruinée et les ranpatz abbatuz. Il y auoict quelques Indiens qui s'y estoient retirés, et qui commençoient à releuer lesdictz ranpatz. Le general s'informa d'eux comme ceste

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of their visit ; most of the houses were burnt, and not four persons were to be found, except a few negroes, who told us that the merchants of the place had the most part been carried off prisoners by the English, and that the rest who were able had fled into the mountains, whence they had not yet dared to emerge, for fear of the return of the English, who had laden all the twelve ships, of which their armament was composed, with sugar, hides, ginger, gold and silver : for we found still in the town a quantity of sugar, hides, ginger, cassia, molasses, and preserves of ginger, which the English had not been able to get on board. They carried off also fifty brass pieces of artillery, which they took from the fortress, into which we went, and discovered it to be quite ruined, with the ramparts thrown down. There were some Indians who had taken refuge there, and who were beginning to rebuild the said ramparts. The General inquired of them, how the place had been taken in so short a

place auoit esté prise en sy peu de temps. L'vn d'iceux, qui parloit assez bon espaignol, luy dict que le gouuerneur dudict chasteau de Portoricco ny les plus anciens du païs ne pensoient pas que à deux lieux de là y eust aucune descente, selon le rapport qui leur en auoit esté fait par les pillottes du lieu, qui asseuroient mesmes que à plus de six lieux dudict chasteau il n'y auoit aucun endrois où les ennemis peussent faire descente ; ce qui fust cause que ledict gouuerneur se tint moins sur ses gardes, enquoy il fust fort deceu ; Fol. 9.
car demye lieue dudict chasteau, à la bande de l'est, il y a vnne descente où les Anglois mirent pied à terre fort commodement, laissans leurs vaisseaux qui estoient du port de deux centz, cent cinquante et cent thonneaux en la radde en ce mesme lieu, et prindrent le temps sy à propos qu'ilz vindrent de nuict à ladicte rade sans estre apperceuz, à cause que l'on ne se doubtoit de cela. Ilz mirent six centz hommes

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time. One of them, who spoke tolerably good Spanish, told him that neither the governor of the said castle of Porto Rico nor the oldest inhabitants of the country thought that there was any landing-place two leagues off, according to the report which had been made to them by the pilots of the place, who even guaranteed that for more than six leagues from the said castle there was no spot where an enemy could make a descent. This was the reason why the governor was less on his guard, wherein he was much deceived, for half a league from the said castle, on the eastern side, there is a landing-place where the English disembarked very conveniently, leaving their ships, which were of the burden of two hundred, one hundred and fifty, and one hundred tons, at anchor in the roadstead at the same place ; and they chose their time so well, that they arrived at the said roadstead at night, without being perceived, because no one had any suspicion of such a thing. They landed six hundred men,

à terre auec dessainct de piller la ville seulement, n'ayant pas pensé de fere plus grand effet, tenant le chasteau plus fort et mieux gardé. Ilz menerent auec eux troys couleureinnes pour batre les deffences de la ville, et se trouuerent au point du jour à vnne portée de mousquet d'iselle, auec vng grand estonnement des habitans. Lesdictz Anglois mirent deux centz hommes à vng passage d'vnne petitte riuiere qui est entre la ville et le chasteau, pour empesscher, comme ilz firent, que les soldatz de la garde dudict chateau qui logeroient en la ville, ny les habitans s'en fuians n'entrassent en iceluy, et les autres quatres centz hommes donnerent dans la ville, où ilz trouuerent[a] aucune resistance de façon que en moins de deux heures ilz furent maistres de la ville : et ayant sceu qu'il n'y auoit aucuns soldatz audict chasteau, ny aucunnes munition de viure à l'occagion que le gouuerneur auoit enuoyé celles qui
Fol. 9v. y estoient par commandement du Roy d'Espaigne à Carta-

[a] La marge du MS. est un peu endommagée, ce qui pourrait expliquer le manque du mot, *ne*.

with the intention of pillaging the town only, having no thought of producing any greater effect, supposing the castle to be stronger and better guarded. They brought with them three culverins to batter the defences of the town, and found themselves at daybreak a musket-shot from it, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants. The said English placed two hundred men at the passage of a little river, which is between the town and castle, to prevent, as they did, the soldiers of the castle garrison who might be lodged in the town and the inhabitants on taking to flight, from entering the fortress; and the other four hundred men attacked the town, where they found no resistance, in such sort that in less than two hours they were masters of it; and having learned that there were no soldiers in the said castle, nor any supply of provisions, as the governor had, by order of the king of Spain, sent what was there to

genes,[1] où l'on pensoit que l'ennemy feroit dessente, esperant en auoir d'autres d'Espaigne, estant le plus proche port où viennent les vaisseaux, les Anglois firent sommer le gouuerneur, et firent offrir bonne composision s'il se vouloit rendre, sinon qu'ilz luy feroient esprouuer toutes les rigeurs de la guerre, dont ayant crainte ledict gouuerneur, il se rendict la vye sauue, et s'enbarqua auec lesdictz Anglois, n'osant retourner en Espaigne. Il n'y auoit que quinze jours que lesdictz Anglois estoient partis de ladicte ville où ilz auoient demeuré vng mois.[2] Apres le partement desquelz, lesdictz Indiens s'estoient raliez, et s'esforçoient de reparer ladicte forteresse, attendant l'armée dudict general, lequel fist faire

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Cartagena,[1] where they thought the enemy would make a descent, he hoping to receive other supplies from Spain, this being the nearest port to which the vessels come, the English had the governor summoned, and offered him good terms if he would surrender; if not, they said that they would make him suffer all the rigours of war; for fear of which the said governor surrendered, on condition that his life should be safe, and embarked with the said English, not daring to return to Spain. It was only fifteen days since the English had departed from the town, where they had remained a month.[2] After their departure, the aforesaid Indians had reassembled and were endeavouring to repair the said fortress, expecting our general's army, who caused to be indited a

[1] The finest and most secure harbour on the north coast of the Republic of Colombia. It is eight miles in length.

[2] Champlain's narrative of the capture and occupation of San Juan by the English, though adding many significant details, does not agree in all respects with the account we have from English sources. There is some confusion here too as to dates. He says that the occupation by the English had lasted a month and that it was fifteen days since their departure. Yet news of the capture had reached Spain while Champlain was still at Sanlucar de Barrameda towards the end of 1598, and it had been nearly three months since he sailed from that port. *Vid.* Corbett, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

vnne information du recit desdictz Indiens, qu'il enuoya au Roy d'Espaigne, et commanda auxdictz Indiens qui portois la parolle d'aller chercher ceux qui s'estoient fuis aux montagnes, lesquez sur la parolle retournerent en leurs maisons, receuant tel contentement de voir ledict general et d'estre deliurez des Anglois, qu'ilz oublierent leurs pertes passés. Ladicte ille de Porto-ricco est assez agreable, combien qu'elle soit vn peu montaigneuse, comme la figure suiuante le montre.[1]

Fol. 10. [PLANCHE XII.]

Ladicte isle est emplye de quantité de beaux arbres, comme cedres, palmes, sappins, palmistes, et vnne maniere d'autres arbre que l'on nomme soubiade [a][2] lequel comme il croit, le sommet de ses branches tombans à terre prend aussy
ol. 10v. tost racine, et faict d'autres branches qui tombent et prennent

[a] Négligence de copiste pour *sombrade*.

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report of the account given by the said Indians, which he sent to the king of Spain. He commanded also the Indians who had been spokesmen to go and seek those who had fled into the mountains, and they on his word returned to their houses, receiving such contentment at seeing the said general and being delivered from the English that they forgot their past losses. The said island of Porto Rico is pleasant enough, although a little mountainous, as the following figure shows.[1] [PLATE XII.]

The said island is filled with quantities of fine trees, such as cedars, palms, firs, cabbage-palms, and another kind of tree called sombrade,[2] the tops of whose branches, as it grows, drooping to the earth take root immediately and produce other branches which fall over and take root in the same way.

[1] "The general appearance of the island is very beautiful; the soil is rich and fertile, and forests cover all the higher parts of the hills."—*The West India Pilot*, ii. 356 (London, 1909).

[2] From the Spanish *sombra*, leafy shade. The tree is *Ficus sp.* See Plate XIII.

racine en la mesme sorte, et ay veu tel [de][a] ces arbres de telle estendue qu'il tenoit plus d'vne lieue en quaré. Il n'apporte aucun fruict, mais il est fort agreable, ayant la feuille semblable à celle du laurier, vn peu plus tendre. [PLANCHE XIII.]

Il y a aussy en ladicte Ile quantité de bons fruictz, à sçauoir Fol. 11.
plantes,[1] oranges, citrons d'estrange grosseur,[2] citroulles de la terre qui sont tresbonnes, algarobbes,[3] pappittes,[4] et vng fruict nommé coraçon,[5] à cause qu'il est en forme de cœur, de la grosseur du poing, de couleur jaulne et rouge, la peau fort delicatte, et quand on le presse, il rend vnne humeur odoriferente, et ce qu'il y a de bon dans ledict fruict est comme de la bouillye, et a le goust comme de la creme sucrée.

[PLANCHE XIV.]

Il y a beaucoup d'autres fruictz dont ilz ne font pas grand Fol. 11v.

[a] Manque dans le MS.

I have seen one of these trees of such extent that it covered more than a league and a quarter. It bears no fruit, but is very pleasant, having a leaf like that of the laurel and a little more tender. [PLATE XIII.]

There are also in the said island quantities of good fruits, namely plantains,[1] oranges, lemons of unusual size,[2] ground gourds, which are very good, algarrobas,[3] pappittes,[4] and a fruit named coraçon,[5] because it is in the form of a heart, the size of one's fist, and of a yellow and red colour; the skin is very delicate, and when one presses it, gives out a fragrant fluid; the good part of the fruit is like thickened milk, and tastes like sugared cream. [PLATE XIV.]

There are many other fruits which are not much esteemed,

[1] See Plate XLII.
[2] Perhaps shaddocks (Hak. Soc.).
[3] *Hymenæa Courbaril* Linn. See Plate XXXVI.
[4] *Carica papaia* Linn., papaw-tree (Hak. Soc.).
[5] *Anona reticulata* Linn. See Plate XIV.

cas, encores qu'ilz soient bons. Il y a aussy d'vne racine qui s'appelle cassaue,[1] que les Indens mengent en lieu de pain. Il ne croit ne blés ny vin dans toute ceste Ile, en laquelle il y a grande quantité de cameleons, que l'on dict qu'ilz viuent de l'air, ce que je ne puis asseurer, combien que j'en aye veu par plusieurs fois. Il a ça taiste assez pointue, le corps assez long pour sa grosseur, assauoir vng pied et demy, et n'a que deux jambes qui sont deuant, la queue fort pointue, meslée de couleurs grise jaunastre. Ledict cameleon est i[c]y representé.

[PLANCHE XV.]

Les milleures marchandises qui sont dans ladicte Ile sont sucres, gingembre,[2] canifiste, miel de cannes, tabaco, quantité
Fol. 12. de cuirs, bœufs, vaches, et moutons. L'air y est fort chaud, et y a de petitz oyseaux qui resemblent à perroquetz, que l'on nomme sus le lieu perriquites, de la grosseur d'vn moineau, la

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although they are good. There is also a root called cassava[1] which the Indians eat instead of bread. There grows neither corn nor wine in all this island, whereon are a great quantity of chameleons which, it is said, live on air; but of this I can give no assurance although I have seen them many times. They have a rather pointed head, the body somewhat long for its thickness, that is to say, a foot and a half long, and they have only two legs, which are in front; the tail is very pointed, and of a colour between grey and yellowish. The said chameleon is here represented.

[PLATE XV.]

The best articles of merchandise in the said island are sugar, ginger,[2] cassia, molasses, tobacco, quantities of hides of oxen, cows, and sheep. The air here is very hot, and there are little birds which resemble parrots, called locally periquitos, of the size of a sparrow, with a round tail, which

[1] *Manihot utilissima* Pohl. See Plates XXXIII and XLIV.
[2] See bottom of Plate XIII.

queue ronde, que l'on apprend à parler, et y en a grande quantité en ceste ile. [PLANCHE XVI.]

Laquelle ile contien enuiron soixante dix lieus de long, et de large quarante lieus, enuironnée de bons portz et haures, et gist est et ouest.[1] Nous demeurames audict Portoricco enuiron vn moys. Le general y laissa enuiron troys centz sol[datz][a] en garnison dans la forteresse, où il fist mestre quarante six pieces de fonte verte qui estoient à Blauet.

Au partir dudict Portoricco nostre general separa nos galions [en][a] troys bandes. Il en retins quatre auec luy, en enuoya troys à Portouella[2] et trois à la Neufue Espaigne, du nombre desquelz estoit le nauire où j'estois, et chacun galion auoit sa patache. Ledict general s'en alla à Terre-Ferme,[3] et

[a] MS. déchiré.

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are taught to speak; there are a great number in that island. [PLATE XVI.]

This island is about seventy leagues in length and forty in breadth, surrounded by good harbours and havens, and lies east and west.[1] We remained at the said Porto Rico about a month. The general left there about three hundred soldiers, as garrison in the fortress, into which he had placed forty-six pieces of bronze cannon, which had been at Blavet.

On leaving the said Porto Rico our general divided our galleons into three squadrons. He retained four with him, and sent three to Porto Bello,[2] and three to New Spain, of which number was the vessel to which I belonged; and each galleon had its patache. The said general went off to the Main,[3]

[1] See Plate XII. Porto Rico is ninety-three miles long and thirty-three broad.

[2] On the coast of Panama, twenty miles north-east of Colon.

[3] The Spanish Main, the English equivalent for Tierra Firme or Costa Firme, the term used by Spanish writers of the sixteenth century for the coast of South America from Paria to Costa Rica, and in a more restricted sense for the Isthmus of Panama.

nous costoyames toute l'ille de St Domingue, de la bande
Fol. 12v. du nord, et feusmes à vng port de ladicte Ile nommé Porto-
platte,[1] pour prendre langue s'il y auoit en la coste aucuns vaesseaux estrangers, parce qu'il n'est permis à aucuns estrangers d'y traffiquer, et ceux qui y vont courent fortune d'estre penduz ou mis aux galleres et leurs vaisseaux confisquez : et pour les tenir en plus grande crainte d'aborder ladicte terre, le Roy d'Espaigne donne liberté aux naigres qui peuuent descouurir vng vaisseau estranger, et en donner aduis au general d'armée ou gouuerneur, et y a tel naigre qui fera centz cinquante lieus à pied, nuict et jour, pour donner semblable aduis et acquerir sa liberté.

Nous mismes pied à terre audict Portoplatte, et feusmes enuiron vnne lieue dans la terre sans trouuer aucune personne sinon vng naigre qui se preparoit pour aller donner aduis ; mais nous rencontrant, il ne passa pas plus outre, et donna

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and we coasted the whole island of Santo Domingo on the north side, and went to a port of the said island, called Puerto Plata,[1] to get intelligence whether there were any strange vessels on the coast, because no foreigners are permitted to traffic there, and those who do, run the risk of being hanged or sent to the galleys, and their ships confiscated ; and to keep them in greater fear of approaching the said land, the king of Spain gives freedom to the negroes who can discover a foreign vessel and give information thereof to the general of the army, or to the governor ; and there are negroes who will go a hundred and fifty leagues on foot, night and day, to give such notice and acquire their liberty.

We landed at the said Puerto Plata, and went about a league inland without meeting any one, excepting a negro who was preparing to go and give information, but meeting us

[1] A town on the north coast of the island of Santo Domingo or Haiti, the second largest of the West Indies. The port is a semicircular basin, about half a mile in extent and shallow.

aduis à nostre admirande qu'il y auoit deux vaisseaux françois au port de Mancenille,[1] où ledict admirande se resolut d'aller, et pour cest effect nous partismes dudict lieu de Portoplatte, qui est vng bon port, à l'abry de tous ventz, où il y a troys, quatre et cinq brasses d'eau, comme il est icy figuré. [PLANCHE XVII.] Fol. 13.

Dudict port de Platte, nous vinsmes au port de Mancenille,[2] qui est icy representé. [PLANCHE XVIII.]

Auquel port de Mancenille nous sceusmes que lesdictz deux Fol. 13v. vaisseaux estoient au port aux Mousquittes,[3] près la Tortue,[4] qui est vnne petitte isle ainsy nommée qui est deuant l'enboucheure dudict port. Auquel estans ariués le lendemain sur les trois heures du soir, nous apperçumes lesdictz deux

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went no farther, and informed our admiral that there were two French ships at the port of Manzanillo.[1] Thither the said admiral resolved to go, and for that purpose we departed from Puerto Plata, which is a good harbour, sheltered from all winds, where there are three, four, and five fathoms of water, as is figured here. [PLATE XVII.]

From the said Puerto Plata we came to the port of Manzanillo,[2] which is here represented [PLATE XVIII], at which port we learned that the aforesaid two vessels were at Port Moustique,[3] near Tortuga,[4] which is a little island so named, off the entrance of the said port. Arriving there the next day about three o'clock in the afternoon, we sighted the said

[1] Manzanillo, a bay on the north shore of Santo Domingo, under shelter of the promontory which terminates the Monte Christi range westward. See Plate XVIII.

[2] Manzanillo bay is about three miles wide. The land on all sides is low and bounded by mangroves.

[3] Moustique bay, on the north shore of the Haitian half of the island, opposite the west end of Tortuga. See Plate XIX.

[4] Or Turtle island, some twenty miles long and four broad, lies about five miles north of Moustique bay.

vaisseaux qui mettoient à la mer pour fuir de nous, mais trop tard : ce qu'eux recognoissans, et qu'il[z] n'auoient aucun moien de fuir, tous l'esquippage de l'vn des vaisseaux qui estoit bien vnne lieue dans la mer, abandonnerent leurdict vaisseau, et s'estans jetté dans leur bateau se sauuerent à terre : l'autre nauire alla donner du bout à terre et se brisa en plusieurs pieces, et en mesme temps l'esquippage se sauua à terre comme l'autre, et demeura seulement vng marinier dedans qui ne s'estoit peu sauuer à cause qu'il estoit boiteux et vng peu malade, lequel nous dit que lesdictz vaisseaux perdeus estoient de Dieppe. Il y a fort belle entrée audict port de Mousquitte de plus de deux mille pas de large, et y a vng banc de sable à ouuert, de façon qu'il faut ranger la grand terre du costé de l'est pour entrer audict port, auquel il y a bon ancreage : et y a vnne isle dedans où l'on se peut mettre à l'abry du port[a] qui frappe droict dans ledict

[a] *Sic*, pour *vent*.

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two ships, which were putting to sea to escape us, but too late. Recognizing this, and seeing they had no means of escape, the whole crew of one of the vessels, which was fully a league at sea, abandoned their said ship, and throwing themselves into their boat, escaped to land. The other ship ran aground and broke in several pieces, and at the same time the crew escaped to land like the other, and there remained behind only one seaman, who had been unable to escape because he was lame and somewhat ill, who told us that the said vessels which were lost were from Dieppe. There is a very good entrance to the said Moustique bay, more than two thousand paces in width, and there is an exposed sand-bank, so that it is necessary to keep near to the land on the east side in order to enter the said port, in which there is good anchorage ; and inside is an island where one can find shelter from the wind which strikes straight into the

port.[1] Ce lieu est assez plaisant pour la quantité des arbres qui y sonts : la terre est assez haulte ; mais il y a telle Fol. 14. quantitté de petites mouches, comme chesans [a] ou cousins [2] qui picquent de sy estrange façon, que sy l'on s'endormoit et que l'on en fust picqué au visage, il esleueroit au lieu de la piqueure des bussolles [b] enflés de couleur rouge, qui rendroict la personne difforme. [PLANCHE XIX.]

Ayans apprins de ce marinier boiteux pris dans ledict Fol. 14v. nauire françois, qu'il y auoit traize grands vaisseaux tant françois, anglois, que flamentz, armez moitye en guerre moitye en marchandise, nostre admiral se resolut de les aller prendre au port de St Nicolas,[3] où ilz estoient, et pource se prepara

[a] Probablement forme dialectale poitevine pour *cusins* ou *cousins* (de *culicinum*, petite mouche).

[b] *Bussolles* ou *bousoles* : de *bouser*, qui signifie *piquer* en vieux français.

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harbour.[1] This place is pleasant enough from the number of trees there ; the land is rather high ; but there are such quantities of small flies, like *chesans*,[2] or gnats, which bite in so strange a manner, that whenever a man went to sleep and was stung in the face, puffy red swellings would rise at the place where he was stung and quite disfigure him. [PLATE XIX.]

Having learned from this lame sailor captured in the French vessel that there were thirteen large ships, French, English, and Flemish, fitted out, half for war, half for trading, our admiral resolved to go and take them at the port of St. Nicolas [3] where they were, and for that purpose made ready

[1] See Plate XIX. Moustique bay is nearly four cables wide at its entrance and about the same in length. On the western side of the bay there is a small islet where the best anchorage is still to be found.

[2] Champlain's expression, *chesans ou cousins*, shows that he was aware that his first word would be unfamiliar. See lower corner of Plate XIX.

[3] This harbour, now called St. Nicholas Mole from the appearance of the tableland at a distance, is a bay at the extremity of the north-western peninsula of Santo Domingo, under shelter of the cape of the same name.

auec trois galions du port de cinq centz thonneaux chacun et quatre pataches, et allasmes le soir mouiller l'ancre à vnne radde que l'on nomme Monte Cristo,[1] qui est fors bonne et à l'abry du su, de l'est, et de l'ouest, et est remarquée d'vnne montaigne qui est droit deuant ladicte radde, sy haulte que l'on la descouure de quinze lieux à la mer : ladicte montaigne fort blanche et reluisante au soleil, et deux lieux autour dudict port est terre assez basse, couuerte de quantité de bois, et y a fort bonne pescherye et vng bon port au dessoulz dudict Monte Cristo, qui est figuré en la page suiuante.

Fol. 15. [PLANCHE XX : FIGURE CY DESSOUBZ REPRESENTÉE DE LA RADDE DE MONTECRISTO.]

Fol. 15v. Le lendemain matin nous feusmes au cap St Nicolas pour y trouuer lesdictz vaisseaux, et sur les trois heures nous ariuasmes dans la baye dudict cap, et mouillasmes l'ancre le

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with three galleons of the burden of five hundred tons each, and four pataches. We proceeded in the evening to cast anchor in a roadstead called Monte Christi,[1] which is a very good harbour and sheltered from the south, east and west, and is marked by a mountain which is directly opposite the roadstead, so high that it can be discerned fifteen leagues out to sea. The said mountain is very white and shining in the sunlight. For two leagues round the said harbour the land is rather low, covered with a quantity of trees, and there is very good fishing and a good harbour under the said Monte Christi, which is figured on the following page.

[PLATE XX.]

The next morning we proceeded to cape St. Nicolas to seek the aforesaid ships, and about three o'clock arrived in the bay under the said cape, and cast anchor as near as was

[1] Monte Christi bay, ten miles north-west of Manzanillo bay. "About 1½ miles within the head of the bay is a remarkable hill at the extremity of the great mountain ridge which extends along the shore to Cape Viejo Francés."—*The West India Pilot*, iii. 58. See Plate XX.

plus pres qu'il nous feust possible, ayantz le vent contraire pour entrer dedans.[1] [PLANCHE XXI.]

Ayans mouillé l'ancre nous apperceusmes les vaisseaux desdictz marchandz dont nostre admirante se resiouis fort, s'asseurant de les prendre. Toutte la nuict nous fismes tout ce qu'il estoit possible pour essayer d'entrer dans ledict port, et le matin veneu, l'admirante prins conseil deu[a] cappitaines et pillottes de ce qui estoit à faire. Il[z] luy dirent qu'il falloit juger aux pire de ce que l'ennemy pouroit faire pour se sauuer, qu'il estoit inpossible de fuir sinon à la faueur de la nuict, ayant le vent bon, ce qu'ilz ne se hazarderoient pas de fet le jour, voiant les sept vaisseaux d'armée, et qu'aussy s'ilz vouloient faire resistance qu'ilz se tiendroient à l'entrée dudict port, leurs nauires amarez deuant et derriere, tous Fol. 16.

[a] *Sic.*

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possible for us, the wind being contrary for entering.[1] [PLATE XXI.]

Having anchored, we perceived the vessels of the said merchants, whereat our admiral greatly rejoiced, feeling sure of taking them. All night we did all we possibly could to try and enter the said harbour, and when morning came, the admiral took counsel of the captains and pilots as to what was to be done. They told him he must estimate at its worst what the enemy might do to escape; that it was impossible for them to get away, save under favour of night, with the wind fair; which they would not risk doing in the daytime, in view of the seven ships of war; and also that if they intended to make resistance, they would take up their position at the entrance of the said harbour, their vessels anchored

[1] See Plates XXI and XXII. "The outer bay on the southern side of the peninsula, between Cape St. Nicholas (Nicola) Mole and Cape St. Nicholas, is 1½ miles broad. . . . From the sandy point on which the town is situated the bay is half a mile across, and turns to the north-north-eastward for 1¾ miles, narrowing at the inner part to about 2 cables, forming the inner port in which vessels of the deepest draught will find sheltered anchorage."—*The West India Pilot*, iii. 74.

leurs canons d'vnne bande et leurs haultz bien pauoisez de cables et de cuirs, et que s'ilz se voioient auoir du pire, il[z] abandonneroient leurs nauires et se jetteroient en terre : pour à quoy remedier ledict admirande debuoir[a] faire aduancer ses vaisseaux le plus prez du port qu'il pourrois pour les batre à coups de canon, et faire desendre cent des meilleurs soldatz à terre pour empescher les ennemis de s'y sauuer. Cela fust resolu, mais leurs ennemis ne firent pas ce que l'on auoit pensé : ains ilz se preparerent toute la nuict, et le matin veneu ilz se mirent à la voille et vindrent pour nous gaigner
. 16v. le vent droict à nos vaisseaux, contre lesquelz il leur falloit necessairement passer. Ceste resolution fist changer de courage aux Espaignolz et adoucir leur rodomontades. Ce fust donc à nous à leuer l'ancre auec telle pronptitude que dans le nauire de l'admirande l'on couppe le cable sur les escubbiers, n'ayans loisir de leuer leur ancre. Ainsy nous

[a] *Sic*, pour *debuoit*.

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stem and stern, with all their guns on one side, and their tops well spread with cables and hides, and that if they saw they were getting the worst of it, they would abandon their ships, and throw themselves on land. To prevent this, the said admiral should have his ships approach as near to the harbour as he could, in order to play upon the enemy with cannon-shot, and put on shore one hundred of his best soldiers to prevent them from escaping thither. This plan was resolved upon, but their enemies did not do as had been expected; but made preparations all night, and when the morning came set sail and, in order to get to weather of us, came straight towards our ships, close to which they must of necessity pass. This resolution changed the courage of the Spaniards, and softened their rhodomontades. It was then for us to lift anchor, and with such promptitude, that in the admiral's ship they cut the cable at the hawse-hole, not having time to raise the anchor.

fismes aussy à la voille, chargeantz et estantz chargez de canonnades. En fin ilz nous gaignerent le vent, nous ne laissans pas de les suiure tout le jour et la nuict ensuiuant jeusques au matin que nous les vismes à quatre lieus de nous. Ce que voiant nostre admirante il laissa ceste poursuitte pour continnuer nostre route ; mais il est bien certain que s'il eust voulu, il les eust pris, ayant de meilleurs vaisseaux, plus d'hommes et de munitions de guerre : et ne furent les vaisseaux estrangers preseuez que pa[r] la faute de courage des Espaignolz. Durant ceste chasse, il ariua vne chose dine de rizée qui merite d'estre recitée : c'est que l'on vist vnne patache de quatre ou cinq thonneaux mellée parmy nos vaisseaux : l'on demanda par plusieurs foys d'où elle estoit, auec commandement d'amener leurs voilles ; mais l'on n'eust aucune responce, combien que l'on luy eust tiré des coups de Fol. 17.
canon, ains allois tousiours au gré du vent. Ce qui meut nostre amirande de la faire chasser par deux de nos pataches,

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So we also set sail, giving and receiving cannonades. At length they took the wind of us, but we ceased not to pursue them all day and the following night until the morning, when we beheld them four leagues from us. Our admiral, perceiving this, abandoned the pursuit to continue our journey ; but it is very certain that if he had wished he could have taken them, having better ships and more men and munitions of war ; and the foreign vessels were only saved through lack of courage in the Spaniards.

During this chase, there happened a laughable thing which is worth narrating. A patache of four or five tons was seen mixed up with our ships. It was hailed frequently, as to whence it came, with orders to strike sail, but there came no reply, however many cannon-shot were fired at it, and it kept on going before the wind. This moved our admiral to have it chased by two of our pataches, which, in less than two

qui en moins de deux heures furent à elle et l'aborderent, criant tousiours qui lors amenast leurs voilles sans auoir aucune responce, ny sans que leur soldatz voulussent se jeter dedans, encores que l'on ne vist personne sur le tillac. En fin leur cappitainne de nos pataches, qui disoient que ce petit vaisseau estoit gouuerné par vng diable, y firent entrer par menace deux[a] soldatz jusques à vingt, qui n'y trouuerent rien, et prindrent seulement leurs voilles et laisserent le corps de ceste patache à la mercy de la mer. Ce rapport faict à l'admirante, et l'aprehension que les soldatz auoient eu, donna matiere de rire à tous. Laissant ladicte Ille St Dommigue, nous continuasmes nostre route de la Neufue Espaigne.[1] Ladicte isle sera figurée en la page suiuante.

ol. 17v. [PLANCHE XXII.]

ol. 18. Ladicte isle de St. Dommigue est grande, ayant cent cinquante lieues de long et soixante de large,[2] fort fertille en

[a] *Sic*, pour *des*.

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hours, overtook and came alongside it, calling out continually for it to strike sail, without getting any answer; nor would the soldiers board it, although no one was seen at the helm. Finally, the commander of our pataches, the crews of which were saying that this little vessel was steered by a devil, forced the soldiers by threats to go on board to the number of twenty, who found nothing; and brought away only the sails, and left the hull of the patache to the mercy of the sea. The report of this made to the admiral, and the fright that had seized the soldiers, gave all something to laugh at. Leaving the said island of Santo Domingo, we continued on our journey to New Spain.[1] The island will be figured on the following page.

[PLATE XXII.]

The aforesaid island of Santo Domingo is large, being one hundred and fifty leagues long, and sixty broad,[2] very fertile

[1] Mexico.

[2] Champlain's figures are a little excessive. Santo Domingo is about 350 miles long and 150 broad.

fruictz, bestail, et bonnes marchandize, comme sucre, canifiste, gingenbre, miel de cannes, coton, cuir de beuf, et quelques fourueres. Il y a quantité de bons portz et bonnes raddes, et seullement vnne seulle ville nommée l'Espaignolle,[1] habitée d'Espaignoz. Le reste du peuple sont Indiens, gens de bonne nature et qui ayment fort la nation françoise, auec laquelle ilz trafficquent le plus souuent qu'ilz peuuent en fere, toutesfois c'est à desçu des Espaignolz. C'est le lieu ausy où les François traffiquent le plus en ces quartiers là, et là où ilz ont le plus d'accez, quoyque peu libre. Ceste terre est assez chaude, en partie montaigneuse. Il n'y a aucunne mines d'or ny d'argent, mais seullement de cuiure.

[PLANCHE XXIII.]

Partant donc de ceste isle, nous allasmes costoyer l'isle de Cuba, à la bande du su, terre assez haulte. Nous allasmes Fol. 18v.

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in fruits and abounding in cattle and good merchandise, such as sugar, cassia, ginger, molasses, cotton, ox-hides, and some furs. There are numerous good harbours and good anchorages, and only a single town, named Hispaniola,[1] inhabited by Spaniards; the rest of the population are Indians, a good-natured people, and very friendly to the French nation, with whom they traffic as often as they can, but this is without the knowledge of the Spaniards. It is also the place in those regions where the French trade the most and where they have most access, although with little freedom. This country is rather hot, and partly mountainous; there are no mines of gold or silver, but only of copper. [PLATE XXIII.]

Departing, then, from this island, we coasted the island of Cuba, on the south side where the land is rather high,

[1] On Champlain's map, where a cluster of houses denotes a town, the name is correctly given as St. Domingue. The Spanish name for the whole island was Española, which Champlain has perhaps mistakenly applied to the chief town. The island became a French possession in 1697, and the two divisions, Haiti and Santo Domingo, became independent negro republics in 1804 and 1809 respectively.

reconnoistre de petites isles qui s'appellent les Caymanes,[1] au nombre de six ou sept : en trois d'icelles il y a trois bons portz, mais c'est vng dangereux passage, pour les basses et bancs qu'il y a, et ne faict bon s'y aduanturer qui ne sçais bien la routte. Nous mouillasmes l'ancre entre les isles, et y fusmes vng jour. Ie mis pied à terre en deux d'icelles, et vis vng tresbeau haure fort agreable. Ie cheminay vnne lieue dans la terre au trauers des bois qui sont fort espais, et y prins des lappins[2] quy y sont en grande quantité, quelques oiseaux, et vng lezard gros comme la cuisse, de couleurs grise et feulle morte. Ceste isle est fort vnie, et toutes les autres de mesmes. Nous feusmes aussy en terre en l'autre qui n'est pas sy agreable, mais nous en apportasmes de tresbons fruictz, et y auoit telle quantité d'oiseaux, qu'à nostre entrée il s'en leua tel

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and proceeded to reconnoitre some small islands called the Caymans,[1] six or seven in number. In three of them there are three good harbours, but the passage is dangerous on account of the shallows and banks in it, and he who does not know the route thoroughly would do well not to risk himself there. We anchored between the islands, and were there one day. I landed on two of them, and saw a very fine and most pleasant harbour. I walked a league inland, through very thick woods, and caught some rabbits,[2] which are very numerous, a few birds, and a lizard as thick as my thigh, of a grey and dark-yellow colour. This island is very flat, and all the others the same. We also landed on another, which is not so pleasant ; but we brought away very good fruits ; and there were quantities of birds which at our landing

[1] A group of islands geographically connected with Cuba, being the extension westward of the ridge which ends in Cabo de la Cruz, a cape on the south coast of Cuba. They are now British possessions, being politically and administratively a part of Jamaica. See Plate XXV. Anchorages are found at Georgetown in Grand Cayman, Reef harbour in Little Cayman, and Scott bay in Cayman Brac.

[2] See Plate XXIV. Although Champlain speaks of them as rabbits and gives a figure probably taken from a European rabbit, the animals he saw were presumably Hutias, members of the genus Capromys.

nombre qu'à plus de deux heures après l'air en estoit remply, et d'autres qui ne peuuent voller, de façon que nous en prenions assez aisement. Ilz sont gros comme vne oye, la teste fort grosse, le bec fort large, bas sur ses jambes, les piedz sont comme ceux d'vnne poulle d'eau. Quan[d] les oyseaux sont plusmez, il n'y a pas plus gros de chair qu'vnne Fol. 19.
turtre, et est de fort mauuais goust.[1] [PLANCHES XXIV ET XXV.] Fol. 19v.

Nous leuasmes l'ancre le mesme jour au soir auec fort bon vent et le lendemain sur les trois heures aprez midy nous Fol. 20.
ariuasmes à vng lieu qui s'appelle la Sonde,[2] lieu tresdangereux, car à plus de cinq lieues de là, ce ne sont que basses, fors vng canal qui contien[a]. . .[3] lieues de long et trois de large. Quand nous fusmes au milieur dudict canal, nous

[a] Lacune dans le MS.

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rose in such numbers that for more than two hours after, the air was filled with them: and there were others, which could not fly, so that we caught some of them very easily; they are as big as a goose, with a very large head, a very wide beak, low on their legs, and feet like those of a water-hen. When the birds are plucked, there is not more flesh on one than on a dove, and it has a very unpleasant flavour.[1] [PLATES XXIV AND XXV.]

We weighed anchor the same day, towards evening, with a very fair wind, and the next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, arrived at a place called the Sound,[2] a very dangerous place, since for more than five leagues from it there are only shallows, with the exception of a channel, . . .[3] leagues in length, and three in width. When we were in the middle

[1] See Plate XXIV. Perhaps the gannet, *Sula coryi* Maynard.

[2] The Sound, called by the Spaniards the Sound of Campeche, is the passage across the Campeche or Yucatan Bank which skirts the north and west sides of Yucatan Peninsula, to the distance of 130 and 110 miles respectively. See Plate XXVI.

[3] According to the map given by Champlain the channel would be more than thirty leagues in length (Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, i. 19, note 3. Quebec, 1870). *Cf.* preceding note.

mismes vent deuant, et les mariniers jetterent leurs lignes hors pour pescher du poisson dont ilz pescherent sy grande quantité que les mariniers ne pouuoient fournir à mettre dans le bord des vaisseaux. Ce poisson[1] est de la grosseur d'vnne dorée, de couleur rouge, fort bon sy on le mange frais, car il ne se garde et sammure, et se pourit incontinent. Il faut auoir tousiours la sonde en la main en passant ce canal, à la sortye duquel l'vne de nos pataches se perit en la mer sans que nous en peussions sçauoir l'occasion. Le soldatz et mariniers se sauuerent à la n[a]ge, les vns sur des planches, autres sur des aduirons, autres comme ilz pouuoient, et reuindrent de plus de deux lieues à nostre vaisseau, qu'ilz trouuerent bien à propos, et les fimes recepuoir par nos bateaux qui alloient au
fol. 20v. deuant d'eux. [PLANCHE XXVI.]

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of this channel, we lay to, and the sailors threw their lines overboard to catch fish, of which they took so large a quantity, that they could not find room enough for them on board the ships. This fish[1] is of the size of a dory, of a red colour, and very good if eaten fresh; for it will not keep nor salt, but goes bad immediately. The lead must be always in the hand in passing through this channel; on leaving which, one of our pataches foundered without our being able to learn the cause. The soldiers and sailors saved themselves by swimming, some on planks, others on oars, others as they best could, and from more than two leagues away made for our ship, which they encountered very seasonably, and we had them picked up by our boats which went out to meet them. [PLATE XXVI.]

[1] "The attention of the mariner is drawn to the fishing grounds, pointed out on the chart of Campeche Bank, which would amply repay a couple of hours' delay by an abundant supply of rock fish and red snappers."—*The West India Pilot*, i. 453 (London, 1903). These are the *Roccus lineatus* Bloch, and the *Lutianus aya* Bloch. The latter is a large rather coarse fish, bright red in colour.

Huict jours apres nous ariuasmes à St Iean de Luz,[1] qui Fol. 21
est le premier port de la Neufue Espaigne, où les gallions du Roy d'Espaigne vont tous les ans pour charger l'or, l'argent, pierreries, et la cochenille, pour porter en Espaigne. Cedict port de St Iean de Luz est bien à quatre centz lieus de Portoricco.[2] En ceste isle il y a vnne fort bonne forteresse, tant pour la scituation que pour les bons rampartz, bien munie de tout ce qu'il luy est necessaire, et y a deux centz soldatz en garnison, qui est assez pour le lieu. La forteresse comprend toute l'ille, qui est de six centz pas de long et deux centz cinquante pas de large. Outre laquelle forteresse y a des

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Eight days afterwards, we arrived at St. Jean de Luz,[1] which is the first port of New Spain, where the galleons of the king of Spain go every year to load gold, silver, precious stones, and cochineal, to take to Spain. The said port of St. Jean de Luz is fully four hundred leagues from Porto Rico.[2] On this island is a very good fortress, both from its situation and from its good ramparts, and well furnished with everything necessary; and there is a garrison of two hundred soldiers, which is enough for that place. The fortress comprises the whole island, which is six hundred paces long, and two hundred and fifty paces wide; besides which fortress there are

[1] Now San Juan de Ulúa, situated on an island just as he describes, opposite to the new town of Vera Cruz, about half a mile from the mainland. It appears originally to have been called *San Juan de Luz*. See E. Ruídiaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, ii. 621 (Madrid, 1893), and the maps of Wytfliet's *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum* (Louvain, 1597) reproduced in A. E. Nordenskiöld's *Facsimile-Atlas*, LI. (Stockholm, 1889). The fortress was taken several times in the nineteenth century, and is now a ruin. See Plate XXVIII.

[2] Four hundred leagues from Porto Rico to San Juan de Ulúa is an underestimate. It is 1775 nautical miles from Vera Cruz, the new town on the mainland opposite San Juan de Ulúa, to San Juan in Porto Rico, which is about sixty miles farther off than the most westerly point of that island.

maisons basties sur pilloties dans l'eau,[1] et plus de six lieues à la mer, ce ne sons que vasses,[2] qui est cause que les vaisseaux ne peuuent entrer en ce port s'ils ne sçauent bien l'entrée du canal, pour laquelle entrée faut mestre le cap au surouest; mais c'est bien le plus dangereux port que l'on sçauroit trouuer, qui n'est à aucun abry que [de la] forteresse du costé du nord, et y a aux muralles de la [dicte] forteresse plusieurs boucles de bronze où l'on amare des vaisseaux qui sont quelque fois sy pressez les vngs contre les autres, que quand il vente quelque vent de nord, qui est fort dangereux, que lesdictz vaisseaux se froissent, encor qu'[ilz] soient amarez deuant et derriere. Ledict port ne contient que deux centz pas de
Fol. 21v. large et deux centz cinquante de long.[3] Et ne tiennent ceste place que pour la commodité des gallions qui viennent comme

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houses built on piles in the water;[1] and for more than six leagues seaward there are only shallows;[2] for which reason ships cannot enter this port, if they are not well acquainted with the entrance of the channel, for which entrance you must steer south-west. It is certainly the most dangerous harbour that can be found, and there is no shelter, except from the fortress on the north side. In the walls of the fortress are several bronze rings, where the vessels are moored; and these are sometimes so crowded together, that when it blows from the north, the dangerous quarter, the said vessels grind one another, although they are moored fore and aft. The said harbour is only two hundred paces in width, and two hundred and fifty in length.[3] The place is only kept for the convenience of the galleons which come, as has been said, from Spain, to

[1] For a picture of these and of the island made in 1608, see A. P. Maudslay, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain by Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, i. 303, Plate IX (London: Hakluyt Society, 1908).

[2] The shore for the space of five miles is fronted by detached reefs which stretch off to the same distance eastward of the city. These are termed the Inner Shoals, those off Anton Lizardo being called the Outer Shoals of Vera Cruz.

[3] The harbour is now about a mile and a quarter long by about half a mile wide.

dit est, d'Espaigne, pour charger les marchandises, or, et argent qui se tirent de la Neufue Espaigne.

Il y a de l'autre costé du chasteau, à deux mille pas d'iceluy, en terre ferme, vne petite ville nommée Bouteron,[1] fort marchande.

A quatre lieus dudict Bouteron il y a encores vne autre ville qui s'appelle Vereaciux,[2] qui est en fort belle scituation et à deux lieues de la mer. [PLANCHES XXVII ET XXVIII.] Fol. 22.

Quinze jours aprez nostre arriuée audict St Iean de Luz, Fol. 22v. je m'en allay auec congé de nostredict admiral, à Mechique, distant dudict lieu de cent lieux, tousiours auant en terre.[3] Il ne se peult veoir ny desirer vng plus beau païs que ce royaulme de la Noue Espaigne, qui contient trois centz lieues

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load the merchandise, gold, and silver, which are drawn from New Spain.

On the other side of the fortress, and about two thousand paces from it, on the mainland, is a small town, called Bouteron,[1] much occupied with trade. Four leagues from Bouteron is still another town, named Vera Cruz,[2] which lies in a very fine situation, and two leagues from the sea. [PLATES XXVII AND XXVIII.]

Fifteen days after our arrival at the said St. Jean de Luz, I set off, with the permission of our said admiral, for Mexico, distant from that place one hundred leagues, directly inland.[3] A more beautiful country could not be seen or desired than this kingdom of New Spain, which is three hundred leagues in

[1] On Bautista Antoneli's map of 1608, reproduced as Plate VIII, p. 203, in vol. i. of A. P. Maudslay's translation of Bernal Diaz, mentioned above, this name is spelt Buitron. See Plate XXVIII.

[2] Old Vera Cruz was situated at the mouth of the Antigua, about fifteen miles along the coast to the north of San Juan de Ulúa and the modern Vera Cruz. See Antoneli's map of 1608, mentioned in the preceding note, and Plates XXVII and XXVIII, in which the name of the place and of the river appears as "Lauelle Croux."

[3] Vera Cruz is 200 miles from Mexico City.

de long et deux centz de large. Faisant ceste trauerse à Meschique, j'admirois les belles forestz que l'on rencontre, remplis des plus beaux arbres que l'on sçauroit souhaitter, comme palmes, cedres, lauriers, orenges, citronneles, palmistes, gouiauiers,[1] accoyates,[2] bois d'ebene, bresil,[3] bois de campesche,[4] qui sont tous arbres communs en ce pays là, auec vnne infinitté d'autres differentes sortes que je ne puis reciter pour la diuersité, et qui donnent tel contentement à la veue qu'il n'est pas possible de plus, auec la quantité que l'on veoit dans les forestz d'oiseaux de diuers plumages. Aprez l'on rencontre de grandes campaignes vnies à pertre

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length, and two hundred in breadth. On this journey to Mexico, I admired the fine forests that are met with, filled with the most beautiful trees that one could wish, such as palms, cedars, laurels, orange and lemon trees, cabbage palms, guavas,[1] avocadoes,[2] ebony, Brazil[3] and Campeachy[4] wood, which are all common trees in that country, with an infinity of other kinds that I cannot name on account of the variety of them, which give the greatest possible satisfaction to the eyes; together with quantities of birds of divers plumage that are seen in the forests. Next, one comes upon great plains stretching as far as the eye can reach, covered with

[1] This tree, of the myrtaceous genus *Psidium guajava* Linn., is a native of tropical America. The word (Sp. *guayaba*) is presumably of West Indian or South American origin. See Plate XXXIV.

[2] *Persea americana* Mill. Champlain's word, *accoyates*, is perhaps a direct corruption of the native word, *ahuacatl* or *ahuacahuitl*, which became in Spanish *aguacate* (Hak. Soc.).

[3] Originally the name of the hard brownish-red wood of an East Indian tree known as Sappan, from which dyers obtain a red colour. After the discovery of the New World, the name was extended and gradually transferred to the similar wood of a South American species (*Cæsalpinia echinata* Lam.).

[4] Campeachy wood, the red dye-wood yielded by *Hæmatoxylon campechianum* Linn., better known as log-wood. The name comes from Campeachy or Campeche, on the west coast of Yucatan, whence it was originally exported. See p. 71, note 1.

beus, chargez de infinis trouppeaux de bestial, comme cheuaux, muletz, bœufs, vaches, moutons, et cheures, qui ont les pastures tousiours fraiches en toutes saisons, n'y ayant aucun hiuer, ains vng air fort tamperé, ny chaud ny froid. Il n'y pleut tous les ans que deux fois, mais les rozées sont sy grandes la nuict que les plantes en sont suffisamment arrozées et nourries. Fol. 23. Outre cela, tout ce pays là est decoré de fort beaux fleuues et riuieres, quy trauersent presque tout le royaulme, et dont la pluspart portent batteaux. La terre y est fort fretille, rapportant le bled deux fois en l'anné et en telle quantité que l'on sçauroit desirer, et en quelque saison que ce soit il se trouue tousiours du fruictz nouueaux tresbons dans les arbres ; car quand vng fruict est à maturité, les autres viennent et le succeddent ansy les[a] vngs aux autres, et ne sont jamais les arbres voiudes de fruictz, et tousiours verde. Sy le Roy d'Espaigne vouloit permettre que l'on plantast de la vigne audict royaulme, elle y fructiffiroit comme le bled ; car

[a] Le MS. semble porter, *aen.*

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immense droves of cattle, such as horses, mules, oxen, cows, sheep, and goats, which have pastures always fresh in every season, there being no winter, but a very temperate atmosphere, neither hot nor cold. It only rains twice in the year, but the dews at night are so heavy that the plants are thereby sufficiently watered and nourished. Moreover, this whole country is adorned with very fine rivers and streams, which traverse almost the whole extent of the kingdom, and the greater part of which are navigable for boats. The soil is very fertile, producing corn twice in the year, and in as great abundance as one could desire, and, whatever season it may be, there is always very good fresh fruit on the trees ; for when one fruit arrives at maturity, others are coming on and thus succeed one another ; and the trees are never bare of fruit and are always green. If the king of Spain would permit vines to be planted in the said kingdom, they would fructify like the corn ; for I have seen grapes produced from a stock

MAP OF PART OF MEXICO

From the Hakluyt Society's translation of Diaz del Castillo's *Conquest of New Spain*, volume I. (Scale, 1:550,000.)

To face p. 41.

j'ay veu des raizins proueneus d'vn cep que quelqu'vn auoit planté pour plaisir, dont chacun grain estoit aussy gros qu'vn pruniau, et long comme la moityé du poulce, et de beaucoup meilleurs que ceux d'Espaigne. Tous les contentementz que j'auois veuez à la veue de choses sy agreables, n'estoient que peu de chose au regard de celuy que je receuz lors que je vis ceste belle ville de Mechique,[1] que je ne croiois sy superbement bastye de beaux temples, pallais, et belles maisons, et les rues
Fol. 23v. fort bien compassées, où l'on veroit de belles et grandes boutiques de marchandz, plainnes de toutes sortes de marchandises tresriches. Ie croy, à ce que j'ay peu juger, qu'il y a en ladicte ville douze à quinze mil Espaignolz habitans, et six fois autant d'Indiens, qui sont crestiens aussy habitans,

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which someone had planted for his pleasure, every grape of which was as large as a plum, half a thumb in length, and much better than those of Spain. But all the contentment I felt at the sight of things so pleasing was but little in regard to what I experienced when I beheld that beautiful city of Mexico,[1] which I had not supposed to be so superbly constructed of splendid temples, palaces and fine houses; and the streets extremely well laid out, in which are to be seen the large handsome shops of the merchants full of all sorts of very rich merchandise. I think, as well as I could judge, that there are in the said city twelve to fifteen thousand Spanish inhabitants, and six times as many Christian Indians

[1] The surroundings and situation of the city of Mexico have changed very much since Champlain's visit, in consequence of the shrinkage in volume of the lake in which the town was originally placed, on an island connected with the mainland by causeways. Now the town is surrounded by level fields, and the lake is two miles away. Even in Champlain's time the retreat of the waters had begun, as is shown by his mention of an isthmus, 300 paces in width. At the time of the Conquest by Cortes there was no isthmus. See Plate XXIX, and compare the map of Enrici Martinez of 1628 and the map of the Valley of Mexico (part of which is reproduced here as Plate LXIII) in Maudslay's translation of Bernal Diaz (cited above, p. 37, note 1), vols. i. and iv.

outre grand nombre de naigres esclaues. Ceste ville est enuironnée d'vn estancg presque de tous costez, hors mis en vng endroit qui peut contenir viron trois centz pas de long, que l'on pourroit bien coupper et fortiffier, n'ayant à craindre que de ce costé ; car de tous les autres il y a plus d'vnne lieue jusques aux bords dudict estang, dans lequel il[z] tombent quatres grandes riuieres qui sont fort auant dans la terre, et portent batteaux : l'vne s'appelle riuiere de Terre-Ferme, vnne autre riuiere de Chille, l'autre riuiere de Caiou, et la quatriesme riuiere de Mechique, dans laquelle se pesche grande quantité de poisson de mesmes especes que nous auons par deça, et fort bon. Il y a le long de cete riuiere grande quantité de beaux jardins et beaucoup de terres labourables fort fretille. [PLANCHE XXIX.] Fol. 24.

A deux lieues dudict Mexique il y a des mines d'argent [1] Fol. 24v.

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also dwelling there, besides a great number of negro slaves. This city is surrounded almost on every side by a lake, except at one place, which may be about three hundred paces across, and which could easily be cut off and fortified. Only on this side is anything to be feared : for on all the others it is more than a league to the shores of the said lake, into which empty four large rivers which rise far inland, and are navigable for boats. One is called the river of Terra Firma ; another the river of Chile ; another the river of Caiou ; and the fourth, the river of Mexico, in which great quantities of fish are caught, of the same species as we have on this side the ocean, and very good. Along this river are a great number of beautiful gardens, and much very fertile arable land. [PLATE XXIX.]

Two leagues from the said Mexico are silver mines,[1]

[1] The exact location of these mines cannot be determined ; doubtless Champlain speaks from hearsay and had no particular place in mind. Silver is the most widely distributed metal in Mexico, occurring in every State but one. See Plate XXX.

que le Roy d'Espaigne a affermés à cinq millions d'or par an, et s'est reserué d'y emploier vng grand nombres d'esclaues pour tirer à son proffis tous ce qu'ilz pouront des mines, et outre tire le dixiesme de tout ce que tirent les fermiers. Par ainsy ces mines sont de tresbon reuenu audict Roy d'Espaigne.

[PLANCHE XXX.]

Fol. 25. L'on receulle audict païs quantité de cochenille qui croist dans les champs, comme font les pois de deça, et vient d'vn fruict gros comme vne nois, qui est plain de graine par dedans. On le laisse venir à maturité jusques à ce que ladicte graine soit seche, et lors on la couppe comme du bled, et puis on la bat pour auoir la graine, dont ilz resenent après pour en auoir d'autre.[1] Il n'y a que le Roy d'Espaigne quy puisse faire seruir et receullir ladicte cochenille, et faut que les marchandz

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which the king of Spain has farmed out for five millions of gold a year, and he has also reserved the right of employing in them a great number of slaves, to get from the mines, for his profit, as much as they can; and he draws besides the tenth part of all that the lessees get, so that these mines produce a very good revenue to the king of Spain. [PLATE XXX.]

In the said country a great quantity of cochineal is gathered, which grows in the fields as peas do on this side the ocean, and it comes from a fruit the size of a walnut which is full of seed within. It is left to come to maturity until these seeds are dry, and then it is cut like corn, and afterwards beaten to get the seed, some of which they sow again so as to have more.[1] Only the king of Spain may have the said cochineal used and gathered; and the merchants must buy

[1] The belief that the cochineal was the seed of a plant was prevalent for a very long period after the conquest of Mexico. The drawing which Champlain gives (see Plate XXXI) is nothing like the true cochineal plant (*Nopalea coccinellifera* Salm-Dyck). The jealousy of the Spanish government and the severe monopoly of this production prevented the true nature and mode of propagation from being known and gave rise to a variety of fables and conjectures (Hak. Soc.).

l'achaptent de ses officiers à ce commis ; car c'est marchandize de grand prix et a l'estime de l'or et de l'argent.

I'ay faict icy vne figure de la plante qui apporte ladicte cochenille. [PLANCHE XXXI.]

Il y a vng arbre auxdict pays que l'on talle comme la vigne, Fol. 25v. et par l'endroit où il est tallé il distille vne huille qui est vne espece de baume, appellée huille de Canime,[1] du nom de l'arbre qui se nomme anisy. Ceste huille est singulliere pour toutes playes et couppeurs, et pour oster les douleurs, princippallement des goustes. Ce bois a l'odeur du bois de sappin. L'once de ladicte huille vault en ce pays là deux escus. Ledict arbre est icy figuré. [PLANCHE XXXII.]

Il y a vng autre arbre que l'on nomme cacou, dont le frui[ct] est fort bon et vtille à beaucoup de choses, et mesmes sert de monnoye entre les Indiens, qui donnent soixante pour vnne

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it of his appointed officers, for it is merchandise of high price and esteemed as gold and silver.

I have drawn here a figure of the plant which produces the said cochineal. [PLATE XXXI.]

There is a tree in the said country which is pruned like the vine, and from the place where it is cut there distils an oil, which is a kind of balm, called oil of canime,[1] from the name of the tree called thus. This oil is of rare excellence for all wounds and cuts, and for removing pain, principally of gout. The wood has the odour of fir-tree wood. An ounce of this oil is worth in that country two crowns. The said tree is figured here. [PLATE XXXII.]

There is another tree, which is called cacao, the fruit of which is very good and useful in many ways, and even serves for money among the Indians, who give sixty for one

[1] The Spanish word *canime* is the name of the locust-tree and is given to various members of the *Hymenæa*. The gums, formerly supposed to have peculiar medicinal quality, are now only used in the preparation of varnishes. See Plate XXXII.

Fol. 26. realle.[1] Chacun fruict est de la grosser d'vn pinon et de la mesme forme, mais il n'a pas la cocque sy dure. Plus il est vieux et milleur est. Quand l'on veult achapter des viures, comme pain, chairs, fruictz, poissons ou herbes, ceste monnoye peult seruir, voire pour cinq ou six pieces l'on peult auoir de la marchandise pour viure des Indiens seulement; car il n'a point cours entre les Espaignolz, ny pour achapter marchandise autre que des fruictz. Quand l'on veult vser de ce fruict, l'on le reduict en pouldre, puis l'on en faict vnne paste que l'on destrempe en eau chaude, où l'on mesle du miel qui vient du mesme arbre, et quelque peu d'espice, puis le tout estant cuit ensemble, l'on en bois au matin, estant chauffé, comme les mariniers de deça prennes de l'eau de vye, et se trouuent sy bien après auoir beu de ceste eau, qu'ilz se pourroient passer tout vng jour de manger sans auoir grand appetit. Cest arbre a quantité d'espinnes qui sont fort pointues, que quand on les arrache il vient vng fil, l'escorche

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real.[1] Each fruit is as big as a pine seed, and of the same shape; but has not so hard a shell. The older it is, the better. When one wishes to buy provisions, such as bread, meat, fruit, fish, or herbs, this money will serve; even for five or six of them a supply of food can be obtained, but from the Indians only, as it is not current among the Spaniards, nor will it buy other merchandise than food-stuffs. When this fruit is to be used it is reduced to a powder, then a paste is made, which is steeped in hot water, in which the honey that comes from the same tree is mixed, with a little spice; then the whole being boiled together is drunk in the morning, warmed up, as our sailors take brandy, and people feel so well after having drunk of this liquid that they can dispense with eating for a whole day without becoming very hungry. This tree bears numbers of thorns, which are very sharp; and when they are torn off, a thread too comes off the bark of

[1] A small Spanish coin equivalent to five cents.

dudict arbre, lequel l'on file sy delyé que l'on veult, et de ceste espine et du fil qui y est attaché, l'on peult coudre aussy proprement que d'vnne esguille et d'autre fil. Les Indiens en font du fil fort beau et fort delyé, et neantmoins sy fort, qu'vn homme n'en pourroit pas rompre deux brins ensemble, encores qu'ilz soient deliez comme cheueux. La liure de ce fil, nommé fil de pitte, vaut en Espaigne huict esceus la liure, Fol. 26v. et en font des dantelles et autres ouurages. Dauantaige de l'escorche dudict arbre l'on faict du vinaigre fort comme celuy de vin, et prenant du cœur de l'arbre qui est mouelleux, et le pressant, il en sort de tresbon miel; puis faigant seicher la mouelle ainsy esprainte au soleil, elle sert pour allumer le feu. Outreplus pressant les feuilles de cest arbre, qui sont comme celles de l'olifuier, il en sort du suc dont les Indiens font de bon breuuage.[1] Ledict arbre est de la

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the said tree, which can be spun as fine as you please; and with this thorn, and the thread attached to it, you can sew as neatly as with a needle and other thread. The Indians make very fine and very thin thread of it, and nevertheless so strong, that a man could not break two strands of it together, although they be as fine as hairs. A pound of this thread, called pitte thread, is worth in Spain eight crowns, and with it lace and other kinds of work are made. Moreover, from the bark of the said tree vinegar is made, as strong as that from wine; and if you take the heart of this tree, which is marrowy pith, and press it, there comes out very good honey: then the pith thus pressed being dried in the sun serves to light fires. Furthermore, by pressing the leaves of this tree, which are like those of the olive tree, there comes out of them a juice, of which the Indians make a good beverage.[1] The said

[1] Champlain has here evidently combined descriptions of the cacao tree (*Theobroma cacao* Linn.), and the "metl" or maguey (*Agave americana* Linn.), to which nearly all the latter part of his description applies (Hak. Soc.). The modern name of the fermented liquor produced from the maguey or agave is *pulque*. See Plate XXXIII.

grandeur d'vn oliuier, dont vous en verres icy la figure. [PLANCHE XXXIII.]

Fol. 27. I'ay cy deuant parlé d'vn arbre qui s'appelle gouiaue,[1] qui croist fort communement audict pays, qui rend vng fruict que l'on nomme aussy gouiaue, qui est de la grosseur d'vne pomme de capendu,[2] de couleur jaulne, et le dedans semblable aux figues verdes. Le suc en est assez bon. Ce fruict a telle proprieté, que sy vnne personne auoit vng flux de ventre, et qu'il mangast dudict fruict sans la peau, il seroit guery dans deux heures ; et au contraire à vng homme qui seroit constipé, mangeant l'escorche seulle sans le dedans du fruict, il luy lachera incontinent le ventre, sans qu'il soit besoing d'autre medecine.

Figur dudict arbre. [PLANCHE XXXIV.]

Fol. 27v. Il y a aussy vng fruict qui s'appelle accoiates,[3] de la grosseur de grosses poires d'hiuer, fort verd par dessus, et comme l'on

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tree is the size of an olive tree, and you shall here see a picture of it. [PLATE XXXIII.]

I have already spoken of a tree called guava,[1] which grows very commonly in the said country, and bears a fruit also called guava, of the size of a capendu apple,[2] yellow in colour, and inside like a green fig ; the juice is very good. This fruit has the following property : if a person should have a flux of the bowels, and should eat of the said fruit without the skin, he would be cured in two hours ; and on the contrary, if a man be constipated, and eat the skin only, without the inside of the fruit, it would straightway loosen his bowels, without need of other medicine. Figure of the said tree. [PLATE XXXIV.]

There is also a fruit called avocado,[3] of the size of large winter pears, very green outside : and when the skin is taken

[1] See above, p. 39, note 1.

[2] A kind of apple common in Normandy (Hak. Soc.). *Espèce de pomme rouge* (Littré).

[3] See above, p. 39, note 2.

a leué la peau, l'on troue de la chair fort espaisse que l'on mange auec du sel, et a le goust de cherneaux,[1] ou nois vertes. Il y a vng noyau dedans de la grosseur d'vne nois, dont le dedans est amer. L'abre[a] où croit ledict fruict est i[c]y figuré, ensemble ledict fruict. [PLANCHE XXXV.]

Aussy il y a d'vn fruict que l'on nomme algarobe,[2] de la grosseur de prunes dabtes, long comme cosses de febues, qui a vne coque plus dure que celle de la casse, de couleur de chataigner. L'on trouue dedans vng petit fruict comme vnne grosse febue verte, qui a vng noiau, et est fort bon. Il est icy figuré. [PLANCHE XXXVI.] Fol. 28.

I'ay veu vng autre fruict qui s'appelle carreau,[3] de la grosseur du poing, dont la peau est fort tendre et orengée, et le dedans est rouge comme sang, et la chair comme de prunes, et tache où il touche comme les meures. Il est de fort bon Fol. 28v.

[a] *Sic.*

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off, one finds a very thick flesh, which is eaten with salt, and has the taste of kernels[1] or green walnuts. There is a stone inside, of the size of a walnut, the interior of which is very bitter. The tree on which grows the said fruit is here figured, together with the fruit. [PLATE XXXV.]

There is also a fruit called algarroba,[2] of the size of a date, and as long as a bean-pod; it has a shell harder than that of cassia, and of a chestnut colour. Inside one finds a small fruit like a large green bean, which has a kernel and is very good. It is figured here. [PLATE XXXVI.]

I saw another fruit called carreau,[3] of the size of one's fist, the skin of which is very tender, and of an orange colour; the inside is red as blood, and the flesh is like that of plums; and it makes a stain wherever it touches, like mulberries: it

[1] *Cerneaux* is the French word for green walnut kernels.

[2] See p. 20, note 3.

[3] The fruit apparently of a *Passiflora incarnata* Linn. or *edulis* Sims. It cannot be *Cactus opuntia* Linn. given by the Hakluyt Society editor. See Plate XXXVII.

goust, et det on qu'il est tresbon pour guerir les morseures de bestes venimeuses. [PLANCHE XXXVII.]

Il y a encor d'vn autre fruict qui se nomme serolles,[1] de la grosseur d'vne prune, et est fort jaulne, et le goust comme de poires muscades. [PLANCHE XXXVIII.]

Fol. 29. I'ay aussy parlé d'vn abre que l'on nomme palmiste, que je representeray icy,[2] qui a vingt pas de hault, de la grosseur d'vn homme, et neantmoins sy tendre que d'vn bon coup d'espée on le peult couper tout à trauers, pace[a] que le dessus est tendre comme vng pied de chou, et le dedans plain de mouelle qui est tresbonne, et tient plus que le reste de l'arbre, et a le goust comme du succre, aussy doux et meilleur. Les Indiens en font du breuuage meslé auec de l'eau, qui est fort bon. [PLANCHE XXXIX.]

[a] *Sic.*

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tastes very good, and is said to be excellent for healing the bite of venomous creatures. [PLATE XXXVII.]

There is also another fruit called serolles,[1] of the size of a plum; it is quite yellow and has a flavour like muscatel pears. [PLATE XXXVIII.]

I have also spoken of a tree named palmiste which I shall represent here.[2] It is twenty paces in height, and as large round as a man; and nevertheless so tender, that with a good sword-stroke it can be cut right through, because the outside is as soft as a cabbage-stalk, and the inside full of marrowy pith, which is very good, firmer than the rest of the tree, and tastes as sweet as and better than sugar. The Indians make a drink of it, mixed with water, which is very good. [PLATE XXXIX.]

[1] Evidently Champlain's phonetic spelling of *ciruela*, the Spanish word for plum, *Spondias purpurea* Linn. See Plate XXXVIII.

[2] See Plate XXXIX, where the word is spelt *palmistre*. Cf. p. 19 *supra*.

I'ay veu d'vn autre fruict que l'on nomme cocques,[1] de la grosseur d'vne nois d'Inde, qui a la figure approchant de la teste d'vn homme; car il y a deux troux qui representent les deux yeux, et ce qui s'auance entre ses deux troux semblent de nez, au dessoubz duquel il y a vng trou vng peu fendu que l'on peult prendre pour la bouche, et le hault dudict fruict est tout crespé comme cheueux frizez. Par lesdictz troux il sort d'vne eau dont il[z] se seruent à quelque medecine. Ce fruict n'est pas bon à manger; quant ilz l'ont ceuilly, ilz le laissent seicher et en font comme de petittes bouteilles ou tasses comme de nois d'Inde qui viennent du palme. Fol. 29v.

[PLANCHE XL.]

Puisque j'ay parlé de palmes,[2] encor que ce soit vng arbre assez commun, j'en representeray icy vne figure. C'est vng des plus haultz et droictz arbres qui se voient; son fruict, que Fol. 30.

I saw another fruit, called coco,[1] of the size of an Indian nut, which has some resemblance to a man's head; for there are two holes to represent the two eyes, and that which projects between these two holes is like a nose, underneath which there is a rather wide hole, which may be taken for the mouth; and the upper part of this fruit is all frizzled, like curly hair. From the aforesaid holes issues a fluid, which is used for some sort of medicine. This fruit is not good to eat; when they have plucked it they let it dry, and make a kind of little bottle or cup out of it, as they do out of Indian nuts, which come from the palm.

[PLATE XL.]

As I have spoken of the palm,[2] although it is a common enough tree, I will here make a picture of it. It is one of the tallest and straightest trees that can be seen; its fruit, which

[1] *Crescentia cujete* Linn. See Plate XL.
[2] *Cocos nucifera* Linn. (Hak. Soc.). See Plate XLI.

l'on appelle nois d'Inde, vient tous au plus hault de l'arbre, et sont grosses comme la teste d'vn homme. Et y a vnne grosse escorce verte sur ladicte nois, laquelle escorce ostée, se trouue la nois, de la grosseur de deux poings ou enuiron : ce quy est dedans est fort bon à manger, et a le goust de cerneaux. Il en sort vnne eau qui sert de fart aux dames.

[PLANCHE XLI.]

Fol. 30v. Il y a vng autre fruict qui s'appelle plante,[1] dont l'arbre peult auoir de hault vingt ou vingt cinq piedz, qui a la feuille sy large qu'vn homme s'en pourroit couurir. Il vient vne racine dudict arbre où sont en quantité desdictes plantes ; chacun desquelles est de la grosseur du bras, longue d'vn pied et demy, de couleur jaulne et verd, de tresbon goust, et sy sain que l'on en peult manger tant que l'on veult sans qu'il face mal. [PLANCHE XLII.]

Fol. 31. Les Indiens se seruent d'vne espece de bled qu'ilz nomment

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is called Indian nut, grows quite at the top of the tree, and is as large as a man's head ; and there is a thick green bark on the said nut, and when this bark is taken off, one finds the nut of the size of two fists or thereabouts ; the inside is very good to eat, and has the taste of green walnuts ; a liquid comes out of it, which serves as a cosmetic for ladies. [PLATE XLI.]

There is another fruit called plantain,[1] of which the tree may be twenty or twenty-five feet high, and has a leaf so large, that a man might cover himself with it. There grows a stem from the said tree, on which are the said plantains in great number, each of which is as thick as one's arm, a foot and a half long, of a yellow and green colour, of very good flavour, and so wholesome that a man may eat as many as he likes, without their doing harm. [PLATE XLII.]

The Indians make use of a kind of corn which they call

[1] *Musa paradisiaca* Linn. closely allied to the banana (*Musa sapientum* Linn.). The name plantain is properly applied only to the fruit which is cooked as a vegetable, while the banana, smaller and of more delicate flavour, with yellow skin, is eaten raw. See Plate XLII.

mamaix,[1] qui est de la grosseur d'vn poys, jaulne et rouge, et quand ilz le veulent manger, ilz prennent vnne pierre cauée comme vng mortier, et vm autre ronde en forme de pillon, et apres que ledict bled a trempé vnne heure, ilz le meullent et reduisent en farine en ladicte pierre ; puis le paitrissent et le font cuire en ceste maniere. Ilz ont vne platine de fer ou de piere qu'ilz font chauffer sur le feu, et comme elle est bien chaude, i[l]s prennent leur paste et l'estendent dessus assez tenure, comme tourteaux, et l'ayant fait anisy cuire, le mangent tout chaud, car il ne vault rien froid ny gardé.

[PLANCHE XLIII.]

Ilz ont ausy d'vnne autre racine qu'ilz nomment cassaue,[2] Fol. 31v. dont ilz se seruent pour faire du pain, mais sy quelqu'vn en mangeroit de cuit [a] il mourroit.

Il y a d'vne gomme qui se nomme copal,[3] qui sort d'vn

[a] Il faudrait sans doute lire, au contraire, *cru*.

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maize,[1] which is the size of a pea, yellow and red ; and when they wish to eat it, they take a stone, hollowed like a mortar, and another, round, in the shape of a pestle : and after the said corn has been steeped for an hour, they grind and reduce it to flour in the said stone ; then they knead and bake it in this manner : they have a plate of iron, or of stone, which they heat on the fire : and when it is quite hot, they take their paste, and spread it upon the plate rather thin, like pancakes ; and having thus cooked it, they eat it hot, for it is no good cold, or after keeping. [PLATE XLIII.]

They have also another root, called cassava,[2] which they use for making bread : but if any one should eat of it raw, he would die.

There is a gum called copal,[3] which issues from a tree

[1] *Zea mays* Linn. See Plate XLIII.

[2] *Manihot utilissima* Pohl. See Plate XLIV and p. 21, note 1.

[3] The Mexicans gave this name to all resins and odoriferous gums (Hak. Soc.). It is supposed to be the product of some *Hymenæa*. See Plate XLIV.

arbre qui est comme le pin. Ceste gomme est fort bonne pour les gouttes et douleurs.

Il y a ausy d'vnne racine que l'on nomme patates,[1] que l'on fait cuire comme des poires au feu, et a semblable goust aux chastaignes. [PLANCHE XLIV.]

Fol. 32. Il y a audict pays nombre de melons d'estrange grosseur, qui sont tres bons. La chair en est fort orengée, et y en a d'vnne autre sorte qui ont la chair blanche, mais il ne sont de sy bon goust que les autres. Il y a aussy quantité de cocombres tres bons, des artichautz, de bonnes lettuues, qui sont comme celles que l'on nomme rommainnes, choux à pome, et force autres herbes potageres ; aussy des citrouilles qui ont la chair orengée comme les melons.

Il y a des pomes qui ne sont pas beaucoup bonnes, et des poires d'asses bon goust, qui sont creues naturellement à la terre.[2] Ie croy que qui voudroit prendre la paine d'y planter

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like the pine-tree. This gum is very good for gout and pains.

There is also a root called batata[1] which they roast like pears at the fire ; and it tastes like chestnuts. [PLATE XLIV.]

In the said country are numbers of melons of extraordinary size, which are very good ; the flesh is quite orange in colour ; and there is another sort, of which the flesh is white, but they are not of such good flavour as the others. There are also quantities of very good cucumbers, artichokes, good lettuces, like those called cos-lettuces, cabbages, and numerous other kitchen herbs ; also pumpkins, which have yellow flesh like the melons.

There are apples, which are not very good, and pears, of tolerably pleasant flavour, which grow naturally in the soil.[2] I think that if any one would take the trouble to plant there

[1] *Ipomæa batatas* Linn. See Plate XLIV.
[2] See Plate XLV.

des bons fruittiers de par deça, ilz y viendroient fort bien.

[PLANCHE XLV.]

Par toute la Noue Espaigne il y a d'vne espece de cou- Fol. 32v
leuures,[1] qui sont de la longeur d'vne picque et grosse comme le bras, la teste grosse comme vng œuf de poulle, sur laquelle elles ont deux plumes. Au bout de la queue elles ont vnne sonnette qui faict du bruit quant elles se trainnes. Elles sont fort dangereuses de la dent et de la queue ; neantmoins les Indiens les mangent, leur ayant osté les deux extermitez.

[PLANCHE XLVI.]

Il y a aussy des dragons[2] d'estrange figure, ayantz la teste approchante de celle d'vn aigle, les ailles comme vne chauue-
souris, le corps comme vng lezard, et n'a que deux piedz asses
gros, la queue assez escailleuse, et est gros comme vng mouton. Fol. 33.

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good fruit-trees from our country, they would succeed very well.

[PLATE XLV.]

Throughout all New Spain there is a kind of snake,[1] as long as a pike, and as thick as one's arm ; the head is as large as a hen's egg, and on it are two plumes ; at the end of the tail they have a rattle, which makes a noise as they glide along. They are very dangerous with their teeth, and with their tail ; nevertheless, the Indians eat them, after removing the two extremities.

[PLATE XLVI.]

There are also dragons[2] of strange shape, having a head approaching to that of an eagle, wings like a bat, a body like a lizard and only two rather large feet, the tail somewhat scaly ; and they are as large as a sheep, but are not dangerous,

[1] Champlain clearly means the rattle-snake but seems to have confounded it with the horned snake, from the " plumes " on the head (Hak. Soc.). See Plate XLVI.

[2] It will be noted that Champlain, although he describes the dragon's attributes in detail and gives a picture of one, is careful not to say that he has seen one himself. See Plate XLVII.

Ilz ne sont pas dangereux, et ne font mal à personne, combien qu'à les voir l'on diroit le contraire. [PLANCHE XLVII.]

I'ay veu vng lezard[1] de sy estrange grosseur, que s'il m'eust esté recité par vng autre, je ne l'eusse pas creu ; car je vous asseure qu'ilz sont gros comme vng quart de pippe.[2] Ilz sont comme ceux que nous voions icy quand à la forme, de couleur de verd brun, et vert jaulne soubz le ventre. Ilz courent
Fol. 33v. fort viste et siffent en courant. Il[z] ne sont poinct mauuais aux hommes, encor qu'ilz ne fuient pas d'eux sy on ne les poursuit. Les Indiens les mangent et les trouuent fort bons.

[PLANCHE XLVIII.]

I'ay veu aussy par plusieurs fois, en ce païs là, des animaux qu'ilz appellent des caymans,[3] qui sont comme je croy, vne espece de cocodrille, sy grandz, que telz desdictz caymans a vingt cinq et trente piedz de long, et est fort dangereux ; car

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and do no harm to anybody, though to see them one would say the contrary. [PLATE XLVII.]

I have seen a lizard[1] of such remarkable size, that if another had told me of it I should not have believed him ; for I assure you that they are as big as a quarter-pipe.[2] They are as to their form like those we see here ; in colour, brownish-green, and yellow-green under the belly ; they run very fast, and hiss as they run ; they are not evil-disposed to men, although they do not fly from them unless pursued. The Indians eat them and find them very good. [PLATE XLVIII.]

I have also seen many times in that country animals they call caymans,[3] which are, I believe, a kind of crocodile, so large, that some of the said caymans are twenty-five and thirty feet in length ; and they are very dangerous, for if one of them

[1] *Ctenosaura acanthura* Shaw, the iguana.

[2] A "pipe" varied according to the district and the kind of wine. The Bordeaux pipe was nearly equivalent to 100 gallons and would weigh about 1000 lbs. The quarter-pipe to which Champlain compares the iguana would, therefore, be a cask with the capacity of about twenty-five gallons.

[3] *Caiman sclerops* Linn., alligators. See Plate XLIX.

s'il trouuoit vng homme à son aduantaige, sans doulte il le deuoreroit. Il a le dessoubz du ventre jaulne blanchastre, le Fol. 34. dessus armé de fortes escailles de couleur de verd brun, ayant la teste fort longue, les dentz estrangement aigues, la geuelle fort fendue, les yeux rouges, fort flamboiant : sur la teste il a vne maniere de coronne. Il a quatres jambes fort courtes, le corps de la grosseur d'vne barique. Il y en a aussy de moindres. L'on tire de dessoubz les cuisses de derriere du mucq excelent. Ilz viuent dans les estancqs et marez, et dans les riuieres d'eau doulce. Les Indiens les mangent.

[PLANCHE XLIX.]

I'ay aussy veu des tortues[1] d'esmervueillable grosseur, et telle que deux cheuaux auoient affaire à en trainer vne. Il y en a qui sont sy grosses, que dedans l'escalle qui les couure trois hommes se pourroient mettre et y nager comme dedans Fol. 34v. vng bateau : elles se peschent à la mer ; la chair en est tres bonne, et resemblent à chair de bœuf. Il y en a fort grande

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should find a man at its mercy, without doubt it would devour him. They are of a whitish-yellow colour under the belly, the back is armed with strong scales of brownish-green colour, and they have a very long head, and extraordinarily sharp teeth ; the mouth is very wide, the eyes red, and very flaming ; on the head there is a sort of crown. They have four very short legs, and a body as thick as a barrel. There are also smaller ones. From beneath the hind thighs excellent musk is taken. They live in the stagnant ponds and lakes and in the fresh-water rivers. The Indians eat them. [PLATE XLIX.]

I have also seen turtles[1] of marvellous size, such that two horses would have enough to do to drag one of them ; and there are some so large that, in the shell which covers them, three men could place themselves and float as in a boat. They are caught in the sea. Their flesh is very good and resembles beef. There is a very great quantity of them in

[1] *Chelone mydus* Linn. See Plate L.

quantité en toutes les Indes. L'on en voit souuent qui vont paistre dans les bois. [PLANCHE L.]

Il y a ausy quantité de tigres,[1] des fourreures desquelz l'on faict grand estat. Ilz ne se jettent point aux hommes sy on ne les poursuit. [PLANCHE LI.]

ol. 35. Il se void aussy audict pays quelques siuettes [2] qui viennent du Perou, où il y en a quantité. Eilles sont meschantes et furieuses, et combien que l'on en voye icy ordinairement, je ne laisse pas d'en faire icy vne figure. [PLANCHE LII.]

Il vient du Perou à la Noue Espaigne vne certainne espece de moutons,[3] qui portent fardeaux comme cheuaux, plus de quatre centz liures à journée. Ilz sont de la grandeur d'vn asne, le col fort long, la teste menue, la laine fort longue, et qui resemble plus à du poil comme à celuy des cheures qu'à de la layne. Ilz n'ont point de cornes comme les moutons de

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all the Indies, and they are often seen going to feed in the woods. [PLATE L.]

There are also numbers of tigers,[1] of whose skins much account is taken. They do not attack men unless pursued. [PLATE LI.]

In the said country are also to be seen a few civets,[2] which come from Peru, where there are quantities. They are ill-tempered and fierce, and although we ordinarily see them here, I shall not omit to give a picture of them in this place. [PLATE LII.]

From Peru there comes to New Spain a certain kind of sheep [3] which carry loads like a horse, more than four hundred pounds on the day's march. They are as big as an ass; the neck very long, the head small; the wool very long, and more resembling hair like that of goats than wool. They have not

[1] *Felis onca* Linn., the jaguar. See Plate LII.

[2] *Viverra civetta*, according to the Hakluyt Society edition, but this is the African civet. See Plate LI.

[3] *Lama glama* Linn., the llama. See Plate LIII.

deça. Ilz sont fort bons à manger, mais ilz n'ont pas la chair sy delicatte comme les nostres. [PLANCHE LIII.] Fol. 35v.

Le pays est fort peuplé de cerfs, biches, cheureux, sangliers, renars, lieures, lappains, et autres animaux que nous auons pardeça, dont ilz ne sont aucunement differendz. [PLANCHE LIV.]

Il y a d'vme sorte de petitz animaux gros comme des barbotz,[1] qui vollent de nuict, et font telle clarté en l'air, que l'on diroit que ce sont autant de petites chandelles. Sy l'on auoit trois ou quatres de ses petitz animaux, qui ne sont pas plus gros que des noisettes, l'on pourroit aussy bien lire de nuict qu'auec vne bougie. Fol. 36.

Il se voict dans les bois et dans les campaignes grand nombre de chancres, semblables à ceux qui se trouuent en la

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horns like our sheep. They are very good to eat, but their flesh is not so delicate as that of our sheep. [PLATE LIII.]

The country is well stocked with stags, hinds, roebucks, wild boars, foxes, hares, rabbits, and other animals that we have on this side of the ocean, from which they are in no way different. [PLATE LIV.]

There is a kind of little animal as large as a beetle,[1] which flies by night, and makes such light in the air that one would say they were so many little candles. If a man had three or four of these little creatures, which are not larger than a hazel-nut, he could read at night as well as with a candle.

In the woods and on the plains are to be seen great numbers of crabs, like those found in the sea, and they are as common

[1] Probably *Pyrophorus pellucens* Eshch, a fire-fly common in Mexico. The French word *barbot*, here translated "beetle," is a provincial word used in the Aunis Department to denote a bluish-black scarabæus (Favre, *Glossaire du Poitou*, and Jonain, *Dictionnaire du patois saintongeais*). Champlain, a native of that country, employed a word and a comparison that came to him from his early associations.

mer, et sont aussy communement dans le païs comme à la mer de deça. Il y a vne autre petite especе d'animaulx faitz comme des escreuisses, hors mis qu'ilz ont le derriere deuestu de coquilles ; mais ilz ont ceste proprietté de chercher des coquilles de limasson vuides, et logent dedans ce qu'ilz ont de descouuert, traisnant tousiours ceste coquille apres soy, et n'en deslogent poinct que par force.[1] Les pecheurs vont receullir ces petites bestes par les bois, et s'en seruent pour pescher, et quand ilz veulent prendre le poisson, ayant tiré ce petit animal de dedans sa coque, ilz l'attachent par le trauers du corps [à] leurs lingne au lieu d'ameçon, puis le jettent à la mer, et comme les poissons les pensent engloutir, ilz pinsent les poissons des deux maistresses patties, et ne les quitte point : et par ce moien les pescheurs prennent le poisson, mesme de la pesanteur de cinq ou six liures.

I'ay veu vng oyseau qui se nomme pacho del ciello, c'est

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there on land, as with us in the sea. There is another small kind of animal shaped like a crawfish, excepting that they have the hinder parts devoid of shell ; but they have this peculiarity, of seeking empty snail-shells and lodging therein the part which is uncovered, always dragging this shell after them, and they are only to be dislodged from it by force.[1] The fishermen collect these little creatures in the woods, and use them for fishing; when they wish to catch fish, they draw this little animal from its shell, and attach it by the middle of its body to their line in place of a hook, then throw it into the sea, and when the fish are on the point of swallowing them, they seize the fish with their two main claws and will not let them go ; and by this means the fishermen catch fish of the weight of even five or six pounds.

I have seen a bird which is named *pacho del cielo*, that is to

[1] *Cœbonita diogenes* Catesby, the hermit-lobster (Hak. Soc.).

à dire, oyseau du ciel,[1] lequel nom luy est donné parce qui est ordinairement en l'air sans jamais venir à terre que quand Fol. 36v. il tombe mort. Il est de la grosseur d'vn moyneau. Il a la teste fort petite, le bec court, partye du corps de couleur vert brun, le reste roux, et a la queue de plus de deux piez de long, et sont presque comme celle d'vne aigrette, et grosse estrangement au respect du corps. Il n'a point de piedz. L'on dict que la femelle pont vng œuf seulement sur le dos du malle, par la chaleur duquel ledict œuf s'esclot, et comme l'oyseau est sorty de la coque, il demeure en l'air, dont il vit comme les autres de ceste espece. Ie n'en ay veu qu'vn que nostre general achepta cent cinquante escus. On dis que l'on les prend vers la coste de Chille, qui est vng grand continent de terre ferme, qui tient depuis le Perou jusques au destrois de Magelano, que les Espaignolz vont descouurant

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say, bird of the heavens,[1] which name is given to it because as a rule it is in the air without ever coming to earth till it falls dead. It is as big as a sparrow: its head is very small, the beak short; part of the body is brownish-green, the rest red. It has a tail more than two feet long, almost like that of a heron, and singularly large in comparison to its body; it has no feet. It is said the female lays a single egg on the back of the male, by whose warmth the said egg is hatched, and when the bird has left the shell, it remains in the air, in which it lives like the rest of its kind. I have only seen one, which our general bought for one hundred and fifty crowns. It is said they are caught towards the coast of Chile, which is a great mainland continent reaching from Peru as far as the strait of Magellan: this the Spaniards are exploring, and are

[1] *Pharomacrus mocinno* La Llave, called the quezal. The Hakluyt Society editor identified it with the Bird of Paradise (*Paradisea apoda* Linn.), and stated that "the belief was long prevalent that these birds lived constantly in the air, having no feet. The specimens sent to Europe had seldom the legs and feet attached, the body and tail only being used as an aigrette or plume; hence the idea of their not having any feet."

et ont guerre auec les sauuages du pays, auquel l'on dit que l'on descouure des mines d'or et d'argent. I'ay mis icy la figure dudict oyseau. [PLANCHE LV.]

Fol. 37. I'ay pensé qu'il n'est pas hors de propos de dire que le bois d'ebene vient d'vn arbre fort hault comme le chesne. Il a le dessus de l'escorche comme blanchastre, et le cœur fort noir, comme vous le verres de l'autre part representé.

Le bresil[1] est arbre fort gros[a] au respect du bois d'ebene, et de mesme hauteur, mais il n'est sy dur. Ledict arbre de bresil porte comme vne maniere de nois qui croissent à la grosseur des nois de galle, qui viennent dedans des ormeaux.[b]

f. 37v-38v. [PLANCHES LVI, LVII ET LVIII.]

Fol. 39. Apres auoir parlé des arbres, plantes, et animaux, il faut que je face vng petit recit des Indiens et de leur nature, meurs, et creance. La pluspart desdictz Indiens, qui ne sont point

[a] Au-dessus est écrit *hault*. [b] Ces trois mots sont répétés au fol. 37v.

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at war with the savages of the country, where, it is said, mines of gold and silver are being found. I have placed here the picture of the said bird. [PLATE LV.]

It seems to me not out of place to say that ebony wood comes from a very high tree, like an oak. The outside of the bark is whitish and the heart very black, as you will see represented opposite.

The Brazil[1] is a tree of great girth compared with the ebony tree, of the same height, but not so hard. The said Brazil-tree bears a kind of nut, which grows to the size of the gall-nuts which come on elm-trees.

[PLATES LVI, LVII AND LVIII.]

Having spoken of the trees, plants, and animals, I must give a short account of the Indians, and of their disposition, manners, and belief. The majority of the said Indians, who

[1] See p. 39, note 3, and Plate LVII.

soubz la domination des Espaignolz, adorent la lune comme leur dieu.[a] Quand ilz veulent faire leurs ceremonies, ilz s'assemblent tant grandz que petitz au mileur de leur village et se mettent en rond, et ceux qui ont quelque chose à manger l'apportent, et mestent toutes leurs viures ensemble au mileur d'eux, et font la milleure chere qui leur est possible. Après qu'ilz sont bien rasassiez, ilz se prennent tous par la main, et se mettent à dancer, auec des cris grandz et estranges, leur chant n'ayant aucung ordre ny suitte. Après qu'ilz ont bien chanté et dansé, ilz se mettent le visage en terre, et tout à vng coup tous ensemble commencent à crier et pleurer en disant : O puissante et claire lune, fay que nous puissions vaincre nos ennemis, et que les puissions manger, à celle fin que ne tombions entre leurs mains, et que mourans nous puissions aller auec nos parentz nous resiouir. Aprez auoir faict ceste priere, ilz se releuent et se mettent à danser tous en rond ; et dure leur feste ainsy dansans, pryans, et chantans

[a] Le MS. porte ici, *brt*, qui semble être une inadvertance.

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are not under the domination of the Spaniards, adore the moon as their deity, and when they desire to perform their ceremonies, they assemble both great and small, in the middle of their village, and place themselves in a circle ; those who have anything to eat bring it, and they lay all the provisions together in the midst of them and make the best cheer they can. When they are quite satisfied, they all take one another by the hand, and begin to dance with loud and strange cries, their song having no order or connection. After they have sung and danced enough, they take up their position with their faces to the earth, and suddenly all together begin to cry and to weep, saying, " O mighty and clear-shining moon, grant that we may conquer our enemies, and may eat them, to the end that we fall not into their hands ; and that dying we may go and rejoice with our kindred." Having made this prayer, they rise and set to dancing all in a circle ; and so their feast continues, dancing, praying, and singing, about six

enuiron six heures. Voila ce que j'ay appris des ceremonies
Fol. 39v. et creances de ces pauures peuples, priuez de la raison, que j'ay icy figurez. [PLANCHE LIX.]

Fol. 40. Quand aux autres Indiens qui sont soubz la domination du Roy d'Espaigne, s'il n'y donnoit ordre, ilz seroient en aussy barbare creance comme les autres. Au commencement de ses conquestes, il auoit estably l'inquisition entre eux, et les rendois esclaues, ou faisois cruellement mourir en sy grand nombre, que le recit seulement en faict pityé. Ce mauuais traittement estoit cause que les pauures Indiens, pour l'aprehension d'iceluy, s'enfuioient aux montaignes comme desesperez, et d'autant d'Espaignolz qu'ilz attrapoient, ilz les mangeoient ; et pour ceste occasion lesdictz Espaignolz furent contraintz leur oster ladicte Inquisition, et leur donner liberté de leur personne, leur donnant vne reigle de viure plus doulce et tollerable, pour les faire venir à la cognoissance de Dieu et creance de la ste Eglize : car s'ilz les vouloient

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hours. This is what I have learned about the ceremonies and beliefs of these poor people, deprived of the light of reason, whom I have here depicted. [PLATE LIX.]

As for the other Indians who are under the dominion of the king of Spain, if he did not give some attention to them, they would be as barbarous in their belief as the rest. At the commencement of his conquests, he had established the Inquisition among them, and enslaved them or put them cruelly to death in such great numbers, that the mere account of it arouses compassion for them. Such evil treatment was the reason that the poor Indians, for very apprehension of it, fled to the mountains in desperation, and as many Spaniards as they caught they ate ; and on that account the Spaniards were constrained to take away the Inquisition, and allow them personal liberty, granting them a milder and more tolerable rule of life, to bring them to the knowledge of God and the belief of Holy Church ; for if they had purposed still

encor chatier selon la rigeur de ladicte Inquisition, ilz les feroient tous mourir par le feu. L'ordre dont ilz vsent maintenant est que en chacun estans,[1] qui sont comme vilages, il y a vng prestre qu'il les instruict ordinerement, ayant le prestre vng rolle de noms et surnoms de tous les Indiens qui habitent aux village soubz sa charge. Il y a aussy vng Indien qui est comme procureur du village, qui a vng autre pareil rolle, et le dimanche, quand le prestre veult dire la messe, tous lesdictz Indiens sont teneus se presenter Fol. 40v. pour l'ouir, et auant que le prestre la commence, ilz prend son roolle, et les appelle tous par leur non et surnom, et sy quelqu'vn deffault, il est marqué sur ledict roolle ; puis la messe dite, le prestre donne charge aux Indiens qui sert de procureur de s'informer particullierement où sont les deffaillans, et qui les face reuenir à l'église, où estans deuant ledict prestre,

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to chastise them according to the strict rule of the said Inquisition, they would have caused them all to die by fire. The system now adopted is that in every *estancia*,[1] which are like villages, there is a priest who regularly instructs them, and he has a list of the names and surnames of all the Indians who inhabit the village under his charge. There is also an Indian, who is like the proctor of the village, and keeps a similar list ; and on Sunday, when the priest intends to say mass, all the said Indians are obliged to be present to hear it ; and before the priest begins the mass, he takes his list, and calls them all by name and surname ; and should any one be absent, he is marked upon the said list. Then, mass being said, the priest charges the Indian who serves as proctor to inquire fully where the defaulters are, and to have them brought back to the church ; and there, in the said priest's

[1] *Estancia*, a Spanish word adopted in Mexico and by writers on Mexico, to denote, as here, a landed estate, embracing tenants' and labourers' dwellings.

il leur demande l'occasion pour lequel, il[z] ne sont pas veneus au seruice diuin, dont ilz alleguent quelques excuses s'ilz peuuent en trouuer, et sy elles ne sont trouués veritables ou raisonnables, ledict prestre commande audict procureur Indien qui aye à donner hors l'eglise, deuant tout le peuple, trente ou quarante coups de baston aux deffaillantz. Voilla l'ordre que l'on tien à les maintenir en la religion, en laquelle ilz viuent partye pour crainte d'estre battus. Il est bien vray que s'ilz ont quelque juste occasion qui les empesche de venir à la messe, ilz sont excusez.

Fol. 41. Tous ces Indiens sont d'vne humeur fort melancholique, et ont neantmoins l'esprit fort vif, et comprennent en peu de temps ce qu'on leur montre, et ne s'ennuient pour quelque chose ou iniure qu'on leur face ou dye. I'ay figuré, en ceste page et la suiuante, ce qui se peult bien representer de ce que j'en ay discouru cy dessus.

Fol. 41v. [PLANCHES LX ET LXI.]

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presence, they are asked the reason why they did not come to divine service, for which they allege some excuse, if they can find any ; and if the excuses are not found true or reasonable, the said priest orders the Indian proctor to give the defaulters thirty or forty blows with a stick, outside the church, before all the people. This is the system adopted to keep them in the faith, in which they live partly from fear of being beaten. It is true, however, that if they have some just cause which prevents them from coming to mass, they are excused.

All these Indians are of a very melancholy disposition, but nevertheless have a very quick intelligence, and understand in a short time whatever is shown to them, and are not annoyed, whatever ill-treatment or abuse is bestowed upon them. I have figured on this page and the next, what may well be represented of that which I have discoursed upon above.

[PLATES LX AND LXI.]

La pluspart dedictz Indiens ont leur logement estrange, Fol. 42.
et sans aucun arest ; car ilz ont vnne maniere de coches qui sont couuertes d'escorche d'arbres, attelés de cheuaux, mulletz ou bœufs, et ont leurs femmes et enfantz dedans lesdictz coches, et sont vng mois ou deux en vng endroict [du] païs, puis s'en vont en vng autre lieu, et sont continuellement ainsy errans parmy le pays.

Il y a vnne autre maniere d'Indiens qui viuent et font Fol. 42v.
leurs demeures en certains villages qui appartiennent aux seigneurs ou marchandz, et cultiuent les terres.

[PLANCHE LXII.]

Or pour reuenir au discours de mon voiage, aprez auoir Fol. 43.
demeuré vng mois entier à Mechique, je retournay à St Iean de Luz,[1] auquel lieu je m'enbarquay dans vnne patache qui alloit à Portouella,[2] où il y a quatre centz ou cinq centz lieuz.

The greater part of these Indians have strange resting-places without any fixed habitation ; for they possess a kind of van covered with the bark of trees, and drawn by horses, mules or oxen ; and keep their wives and children in the said vans, and remain a month or two in one spot, and then remove to another place, and are thus continually wandering about the country.

There is a class of Indians who live and build their dwellings in certain villages which belong to nobles or merchants, and who cultivate the soil. [PLATE LXII.]

Now, to return to the discourse of my voyage, having remained an entire month at Mexico, I returned to St. Jean de Luz,[1] at which place I embarked in a patache that was going to Porto Bello,[2] four or five hundred leagues distant. We

[1] See p. 36, note 1.

[2] See p. 22, note 2. The name was given to the harbour in 1501 by Columbus. The town was founded in 1584 when the former settlement at Nombre de Dios was abandoned. In the early Spanish period it was the terminus of the trans-isthmian traffic and was repeatedly plundered by buccaneers. It has now sunk to a small village, and the forts that defended the harbour are overgrown by the tropical forest.

Nous feusmes trois sepmaines sur la mer auant que d'ariuer audict lieu de Portouella, où je trouuay bien changement de contrée ; car au lieu d'vme tresbonne et fertille terre que j'auois trouué en la Noue Espaigne, comme j'ay recité cy dessus, je rencontray bien vnne mauuaise terre, estant ce lieu de Portouella la plus meschante et malsaine demeure qui soit au monde. Il y pleut presque tousiours, et sy la pluye cesse vne heure, il y faict sy grande chaleur que l'eau en demeure toute infectée, et rend l'air contagieux, de telle sorte que la pluspart des soldatz ou mariniers nouueaux venneus y meurent. Le pays est fort montaigneux, remply de bois de sappins, et où il y a sy grande quantité de singes, que c'est chose estrange à voir. Neantmoins ledict port de Portouella est tresbon. Il y a deux chasteaux à l'entrée qui sont assez fortz, dans lesquelz il y a trois centz soldatz en garnison. Ioignant ledict port, où sont les forteresses, il y en a vng autre qui n'en est aucunement commandée et où vnne armée

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were three weeks at sea before arriving at the said place Porto Bello, where I found a very different sort of country ; for, instead of the excellent productive soil which I had met with in New Spain, as I have related above, I found a bad land indeed, this place of Porto Bello being the most evil and unhealthy residence in the world. It rains there almost always, and if the rain ceases for an hour, the heat is so great that the water remains quite infected by it, and renders the air contagious, so that the greater part of the newly arrived soldiers or sailors die. The country is very mountainous, covered with forests of fir, in which there are such numbers of monkeys that it is a marvellous thing to see them. Nevertheless the said harbour of Porto Bello is very good ; at the entrance are two castles which are tolerably strong, and in them are three hundred soldiers in garrison. Adjoining the said harbour, where are the fortresses, is another which is in no way commanded by them and where an army might land

pourroit descendre seurement. Le Roy d'Espaigne tient ce port pour vnne place de consequence, estant proche du Perou ; car il n'y a que dix sept lieues jusques à Banama,[a] qui est à la bande du sur.

Ce port de Panama,[1] qui est sur la mer du [su],[2] est tres-bon, et y a bonne radde, et la ville fort marchande, dont la figure ensuit.[3] [MANQUE.]

En ce lieu de Panama s'assemble tout l'or et l'argent qui vient du Perou, où l'on les charges, et toutes les autres richesses Fol. 43v. sus vne petite riuiere qui vient des montaignes, et qui descend à Portouella, laquelle est à quatre lieus de Panama, d'où il faut porter l'or, l'argent, et marchandises sur mulletz : et estans enbarquez sur ladicte riuiere, il y a encor dixhuict lieues

[a] *Sic.*

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in safety. The king of Spain esteems this port a place of consequence, being near to Peru; for it is only seventeen leagues to Panama, which is on the south coast.

Panama,[1] which is on the [south][2] sea, is a very good port with good anchorage, and the town is very commercial. The figure of it follows.[3] [MISSING.]

At this place Panama is collected all the gold and silver that comes from Peru, where it is embarked, with all the other goods of value, upon a little river, which rises in the mountains, and flows out at Porto Bello. This river is four leagues from Panama, whence the gold, silver, and merchandise must be conveyed on mules ; and when they are shipped on the said river, there are still eighteen leagues to

[1] The original Panama was founded in 1518 on the site of an Indian village at the mouth of a little river called Algarrobo, which flows into the Gulf of Panama at its most northerly point. In 1670, Morgan, the buccaneer, captured the town and burnt it. Its successor of the same name is a modern town, half a dozen miles to the west of the earlier site.

[2] Omitted in the original; evidently *sud* or *su* is the word to be understood.

[3] From here to the end of the narrative the drawings referred to in the text are lacking in the original manuscript.

jusques à Portouella.[1] L'on peult juger que sy ses quatre lieues de terre qu'il y a de Panama à ceste riuiere estoient couppés, l'on pourroit venir de la mer du su en celle de deça, et par ainsy l'on acco[u]rciroit le chemin de plus de quinze centz lieus ; et depuis Panama jusques au destroict de Magellan se seroit vne isle, et de Panama jusques aux Terres nœufues vne autre Isle, de sorte que toute l'Americque seroit en deux isles. Sy vng ennemy du Roy d'Espaigne tenoit ledict Portouella, il empescheroit qu'il ne sortist rien du Perou, qu'à grande difficulté et risque, et plus de despens qu'il

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Porto Bello.[1] The opinion may be expressed that, if these four leagues of land that lie between Panama and this river were cut through, a passage might be made from the South sea to that on this side, and the route thus shortened by more than fifteen hundred leagues ; and from Panama to the strait of Magellan would be an island, and from Panama to the New-found-lands would be another island, so that the whole of America would be in two islands. If an enemy of the king of Spain held the said Porto Bello, he would prevent anything leaving Peru, except with great difficulty and risk, and at

[1] Champlain says that he himself visited Porto Bello, and yet his statement about the river which rises four leagues from Panama, empties into the Atlantic at Porto Bello and is utilised to convey merchandise from the former to the latter place, does not tally with the facts. There is no river at Porto Bello, and the merchandise was conveyed overland on mule-back, a paved road having been constructed to facilitate transport. The successor to Porto Bello as the chief Atlantic terminus of the trade route from Panama was Chagres, situated just west of Colon, the port at the Atlantic end of the canal now at length completed. Chagres is at the mouth of a river of the same name, which rises almost in the centre of the isthmus, and at Matachin passes within sixteen miles of Panama. The superior advantage of the river route gave Chagres its importance in the seventeenth century as a rival to Porto Bello. It is singular that Champlain's description of the trade route from Panama to the Atlantic is exactly applicable to that by the Chagres river and the port of Chagres, although he relates it as of Porto Bello. The inference is irresistible that he saw very little of the latter place, and that a report reached his ears of the trade route by the river Chagres, which he supposed to refer to the Porto Bello route.

ne reuiendroit de proffict. Drac [1] fust audict Portouella pour le surprendre, mais il faillit, son entreprise ayant esté descouuert, dont il mourut de desplaisir, et commanda en mourant qu'on le mist en vng tombeau de plomb et qu'on le jettast entre vne isle et ledit Portouella.[2] Ensuit la figure de ladicte riuiere et plan du pays. [MANQUE.]

Ayant demeuré vng moys audict Portouella, je m'en reuins à St Iean de Luz,[3] où nous seiournasmes quinze jours, en attendant que l'on fist donner carenne à nos vaisseaux, pour aller à la Hauanne,[4] au rendez-vous des armés et flotes. Et [e]stants partis pour cest effect dudict St Iean

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more expense than profit. Drake [1] went to Porto Bello, to take it by surprise, but having been discovered, failed in his enterprise; from the disappointment whereof he died, and, as he was dying, gave orders that they should put him in a leaden coffin, and throw him into the sea, between an island and the said Porto Bello.[2] Here follows the figure of the said river and map of the country. [MISSING.]

Having remained a month at the said Porto Bello, I returned to St. Jean de Luz,[3] where we sojourned fifteen days, waiting until our ships were careened in order to go to Havana,[4] the rendezvous of the armies and fleets. And having left the said St. Jean de Luz with that intention,

[1] Sir Francis Drake, after his unsuccessful attempt on Porto Rico, pursued his voyage to Nombre de Dios, where having landed his men he attempted to press forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found such a course practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. The Spaniards, however, had fortified the passes and stationed troops in the woods, so that the English were obliged to return without effecting anything. Drake himself died, on December 28, 1596, and his body was disposed of in the manner mentioned by Champlain (Hak. Soc.). See J. S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, ii. 400 (London, 1899).

[2] *Vid.* Ch. de La Roncière, *Un Atlas inconnu de la dernière expédition de Drake*, in the *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* (Paris, 1909), with views made on this occasion from the *Defiance*.

[3] See p. 36, note 1.

[4] The capital of Cuba on the north side of that island.

de Luz, comme nous feusmes vingtz lieus en mer, vng houracan nous prist de telle furye d'vn vent de nord, que nous nous pensasmes tous perdre, et feusmes tellement esca[r]tez les vngs des autres, que nous ne nous peusmes rallier que à la Hauanne. D'autre part nostre vaisseau faisoit telle quantité d'eau, que
Fol. 44. nous ne pensions pas euiter ce peril ; car sy nous auions vnne demye heure de repos sans tirer l'eau, il falloit traualler deux heures sans relache, et sans la rencontre que nous fismes d'vnne patache, qui nous remist à nostre route, nous allions nous perdre à la coste de Campesche,[1] en laquelle coste de Campesche il y a quantité de sel qui se faict et engendre sans art, par retenue d'eau qui demeurent apres les grandes marés, et se congele au soleil.[2] Nostre pilotte auoit perdu toute la cognoissance de la nauigation, mais par la grace de Dieu, [qui] nous enuoya rencontre de ceste patache, nous nous

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when we were twenty leagues at sea, a hurricane from the north caught us with such fury, that we thought we were all lost, and were so separated one from the other, that we could only come together again at Havana. Moreover our ship made so much water, that we thought we could not escape this peril ; for if we took half an hour's rest, without pumping out the water, we were obliged to work for two hours without ceasing ; and had we not met with a patache, which set us on our route again, we should have gone to our destruction on the coast of Campeche.[1] On that coast of Campeche are quantities of salt, which is made and produced without artificial aid, by retention of the water which remains after the high tides, and crystallizes in the sun.[2] Our pilot had completely lost his reckoning, but by God's grace who sent this patache across our path, we made our way to Havana ; but

[1] Campeche or Campeachy is the province of Mexico that occupies the west side of the Yucatan Peninsula. All this coast is dangerous on account of sand-banks and the absence of harbours. *Vid.* p. 34, note 2.

[2] The same system obtained at Brouage in France where Champlain was born. See *Acadiensis*, iv., 1904, 233.

rendismes à la Hauanne, dont auant que de parler je representeray icy ladicte coste de Campesche. [MANQUE.]

Ariuames à la Hauanne, nous y trouuasmes nostre general, mais nostre admirante n'y estoit pas encores arriué, qui nous faisoit croire qu'il estoit perdu ; toutesfoys il se rendict bien tost après auec le reste de ses vaisseaux. Dixhuict jours après nostre ariuée audict lieu de la Hauanne, je m'enbarquay en vng vaisseau qui alloit à Cartage[ne],[1] et feusmes quinze jours à faire ledict voiage. Ce lieu est vng tresbon port, où il y a belle entrée, à l'abry de tous ventz, fors du nord norouest, qui frape dans ledict port, dans lequel il y a troys isles.[2] Le Roy d'Espaigne y entretient deux galleres. Ledict lieu est en païs que l'on appelle terre ferme,[3] qui est tresbon, bien fretille, tant en bledz, fruict, que autres choses ne[ce]ssaires à la vye, mais non pas en telle abondance qu'en la Neufue Espaigne ;

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before I speak of that place, I will here represent the said coast of Campeche. [MISSING.]

On reaching Havana, we found there our general, but our admiral had not yet arrived, which made us think that he was lost ; however, he came in soon after, with the remainder of his ships. Eighteen days after our arrival at the said Havana, I embarked in a vessel which was going to Cartagena,[1] and we were fifteen days making the voyage. This place has a very good harbour, with a fine entrance, and is sheltered from all winds, except that from the north-north-west, which blows into the said harbour, in which there are three islands.[2] The king of Spain keeps here two galleys. The said place is on what is called the Main,[3] which is a very fine country and very fertile, both in corn and fruits and in other things necessary to life ; but not in such abundance as in

[1] *Vid.* p. 18, note 1.

[2] The harbour is formed by Tierra Bomba island, while a number of smaller islands are scattered along the shore of the bay. See Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, ii. 44.

[3] See p. 22, note 3.

et en recompense, il se tire ausy plus grand nombre d'argent audict lieu de terre ferme. Je demeuray vng mois et demy audict lieu de Cartagenes, et pris vng portraict de la ville et du port que j'ay icy raporté. [MANQUE.]

Partant dudict lieu de Cartagene, je m'en retournay à la Hauanne trouuer nostre general, qui me fist fort bonne
Fol. 44v. reception, pour auoir veu par son commandement les lieux où j'auois esté. Ledict port de la Hauanne est l'vn des plus beaux que j'aye veu en toutes les Indes. Il a l'entrée fort estroitte [entre deux chasteaux ou forteresses [a]], tresbonnes, et bien munies de ce qui est necessaire pour les conseruer, et d'vn fort à l'autre il y a vnne chaine de fer qui trauerse l'entrée du port. La garnison desdictes forteresses est de six centz soldatz : à sçauoir, en l'vne nommée le More,[2] du costé de l'est, quatres centz, et en l'autre

[a] Il manque évidemment plusieurs mots dans le MS.

New Spain ; but in compensation, a greater quantity of silver is drawn from this country of the Main. I remained a month and a half at Cartagena, and made a picture of the town and of the harbour, which I have here reproduced. [MISSING.]

Departing from the said Cartagena, I returned to Havana to meet our general, who gave me a very good reception, for having viewed by his order the places where I had been. The said harbour of Havana is one of the finest that I have seen in all the Indies. The entrance is narrow [between two] very good [fortresses],[1] well furnished with all that is necessary to guard them ; and from one fort to the other there is an iron chain, which crosses the harbour entrance. The garrison of the said fortresses consists of six hundred soldiers ; namely, in the one called the Morro,[2] on the eastern side, four hundred ;

[1] See note *a*, *supra*, and Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ii. 202 (London, 1886).

[2] Still called the Castillo del Morro, on the north-eastern side of the entrance

forteresse, qui s'appelle le fort neuf, et en la ville deux centz. Au dedans dudict port il y a vne baye qui contient en rondeur plus de six lieues, ayant vne lieue de large, où l'on peult mouller l'ancre en tous endroictz, à troys, quatre, six, huict, dix, quinze, et saize brasses d'eau,[1] et y peuuent demeurer grand nombre de vaisseaux. Il y a vne tresbonne ville et fort marchande, laquelle est figurée en la page suiuante. [MANQUE.]

L'isle en laquelle sont ledict port et la ville de la Hauanne s'appelle Cuba, et est fort montaigneuse. Il n'y a aucune minne d'or ou d'argent, mais plusieurs mines de mestail, dont ilz font des pieces d'artillerye et [a] la ville de la Hauanne. Il ne croist ny bled ny vin dans ladicte isle : celuy qu'ilz mangent

[a] Pour avoir un sens raisonnable, nous substituons à cet *et* le mot *en* qui est proposé par Laverdière.

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and in the other, which is called the new fort, and in the town, two hundred. The interior of the harbour is a bay, which is more than six leagues in circumference and one league in width, in every part of which ships can anchor in three, four, six, eight, ten, fifteen, and sixteen fathoms ;[1] and a great number of vessels can remain there at one time. There is a very fine town, very commercial, which is figured on the following page. [MISSING.]

The island, in which are the said harbour and city of Havana, is called Cuba, and is very mountainous. There are no mines of gold or silver, but several mines of metal, of which pieces of artillery are made in [2] the town of Havana. Neither corn nor wine grows on the said island ; that which

[1] "The harbour, two miles in length by one mile in breadth, affords anchorage in from 5 to 7 fathoms, close eastward of the city, with less depths further eastward and southward. It is available for all classes of vessels."—*West India Pilot*, iii. 300.

[2] See note *a*, *supra*.

vient de la Neufue Espaigne, de façon que quelque fois il y est fort cher.

Il y a en ladicte isle quantité de fruictz fort bons ; entre autres vng qui s'appelle pines,[1] qui ressemble parfaictement aux pins de par deça. Ilz ostent l'escorche, puis le couppent par la moityé, comme pommes, et a vng tresbon goust, fort doux, comme sucre.

Il y a quantité de bestial, comme bœufs, vaches et pourceaux, qui est la milleure viande de toutes les autres en ce pays là. En toutes ces Indes, il[z] tiennent grande quantité de bœufs, plus pour en auoir les cuirs que pour les chairs. Pour
Fol. 45. les prendre ilz ont des maigres[a] qui courent à cheual après ces bœufs, et auec des astes[b] où il y a vng croissant au bout fort trenchant, couppent les jaretz des bœufs, qui sont aussy tost escorchez, et la chair sy tost consommé, que vingt quatre heures apres l'on n'y en recognoist plus, estant deuoré de

[a] *Sic*, pour *naigres*. [b] Pour *hastes*, vieux mot remplacé par *lance*.

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is consumed comes from New Spain, so that sometimes it is very dear.

On this island are numbers of very good fruits ; among others one which is called the pine,[1] which perfectly resembles in shape the pine-cones with us. They remove the skin, then cut it in half like an apple, and it has a very pleasant taste, very sweet, like sugar.

There is abundance of cattle, such as oxen, cows, and pigs, which are better meat than any other in that country. In all these Indies they maintain a great number of oxen, more for the hides than the flesh. To catch them, negroes go on horseback after the oxen, and with lances, at the end of which is a very sharp pruning-hook, cut the hamstrings of the animals, which are immediately skinned ; the flesh is so soon consumed, that, twenty-four hours after, none can be perceived ; for it is devoured by great

[1] *Ananas sativa* Schult, the pine-apple (Hak. Soc.).

grand nombre de chiens sauuages qui sont audict pays, et autres animaux de proye.

Nous feusmes quatre mois à la Hauanne, et partans de là, auec toute la flotte des Indes qui s'y estois assemblés de toutes pars, nous allames pour passer le Canal de Bahan,[1] qui est vng passage de consequence, par lequel il faut ne[ce]ssairement passer[a] en retournant des Indes. A l'vn des costez d'iceluy passage, au nord, gist la terre de la Floride, et au su la Hauanne. La mer court dans ledict Canal de grande impetuosité.[2] Ledict Canal a quatre vingtz lieux de long, et de large huict lieues, comme il est cy après figuré, emsemble ladicte terre de la Flouride, au moins ce que l'on recognoist de la coste.

En sortant dudict Canal l'on va recognoistre la Ver-

[a] Le copiste avait pris à la ligne suivante les mots *au nord* qu'il avait mis après *passer* et dont il a ensuite biffé le dernier.

---

numbers of wild dogs and other beasts of prey that are in that country.

We remained four months at Havana, and setting out thence in company with the whole fleet of the Indies, which had assembled there from all parts, proceeded to navigate the Bahama channel,[1] which is an important passage that must necessarily be taken in returning from the Indies. On one side of this passage, to the north, lies the land of Florida, and on the south, Havana. The sea runs in the said channel with great impetuosity.[2] It is eighty leagues in length, and in width eight leagues, as is represented farther on with the said land of Florida, at least such part of the coast as can be seen.

On quitting the said channel one comes in sight of Ber-

[1] The old name for the passage between Cuba and the Bahama islands. The channel between Florida and Cuba is now called the Florida strait.

[2] "In Old Bahama Channel the general set of the current is to the westward. Between the months April and October inclusive the mean monthly maximum rate varies from 20 to 45 miles a day."—*West India Pilot*, iii. 363.

mude,[1] quy est vnne isle montaigneuse, de laquelle il faict mauuais approcher, à cause des dangers qui sont autour d'icelle. Il y pleut presque tousiours, et y tonne sy souuent, qu'il semble que le ciel et la terre se doibuent assembler.[2] La mer est fort tempestueuse autour de ladicte isle, et les vagues haultes comme les montaignes. Ladicte isle est icy figurée. [MANQUE.]

Ayant passé le trauers de ladicte isle, nous vismes telle quantité de poissons vollantz, que c'est chose estrange. Nous en primes quelques vns quy vindrent sur nos vaisseaux. Ilz ont la forme comme vng harentz, les ailles plus grandes, et sont tresbons à manger.

Il y a certains poisson qui sont gros comme bariques, que l'on appelle trubons,[3] qui courent aprez lesdictz poissont

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muda,[1] a mountainous island which it is difficult to approach on account of the dangers that surround it. It almost always rains there, and thunders so frequently, that it seems as if heaven and earth must come together.[2] The sea is very tempestuous about the said island, and the waves as high as mountains. The said island is here figured. [MISSING.]

Having passed by the said island, we saw such quantities of flying fish that it was wonderful. We caught some which fell on board our ships. They are shaped like herrings, with larger fins, and are very good to eat.

There are certain fish, called trubons,[3] as large as casks,

[1] It is not likely that Champlain sighted the Bermuda islands, which lie 1000 miles north-east of the extreme eastern point of Cuba. If he came in sight of Bermuda after leaving Haiti, he must have been driven far out of his course, for the ordinary route to Spain left the Bermudas well to the north. They form a cluster of 100 small islands with an area of nineteen square miles.

[2] "After the commencement of November cyclonic systems of various degrees of force set in and gradually become frequent, each storm following in such rapid succession that one system may be confounded with another." —*West India Pilot*, iii. 17.

[3] The Spanish word, *tiburon*, which Champlain here transcribes *trubon*, means a shark. Champlain has probably confounded it with the bonito (*Sarda pelamys* (Linn.) Cuvier), which is the enemy of the flying fish (Hak. Soc.).

vollans pour les manger ; et quand lesdictz poisons vollants voient qu'ilz ne peuuent fuir autrement, ilz se lancent sur l'eau, et vollent enuiron cinq cent pas, et par ce moien ilz se guarantissent dudict tutron,[a] qui est cy dessoubz figuré. [MANQUE.] Fol. 45v.

Il fault que je dye encor qu'à costé dudict canal de Bahan, au sudsuest, l'on voict l'isle St Domingue, dont j'ay parlé cy dessus, qui est fort bonne et marchande en cuirs, gingenbre, et casse, tabac, que l'on nomme autrement petum,[1] ou herbe à la Royne, que l'on faict seicher ; puis l'on en fait des petitz tourteaux. Les mariniers, mesme les Anglois, et autres personnes en vsent et prennent la fumée d'iceluy à l'inuitation des

[a] *Sic.*

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which follow the flying fish to eat them; and when the flying fish see that they cannot otherwise avoid them, they spring from the water and fly about five hundred paces, and by this means save themselves from the trubon, which is figured below. [MISSING.]

I must also say that on the south-south-east side of the Bahama channel one sees the island of Santo Domingo, of which I have spoken above ; it is a very fine country and has a trade in hides, ginger and cassia, tobacco, otherwise called petun,[1] or the queen's herb, which is dried and then made into little cakes. Sailors, even the English, and other persons use it, and take the smoke of it in imitation of the savages.

[1] *Tabac*, which Champlain here uses and explains as *petun*, is said to have been a West Indian word, signifying, according to some early writers, the pipe or tube which held the tobacco; according to others, the plant itself. Another derivation for it is the name of the island Tobago. The Spaniards adopted the word, and from them it passed into French and other languages. Champlain here treats it as a foreign word requiring explanation. Cotgrave's dictionary, published in 1611, does not give it at all. Up to that date at any rate the ordinary French term for tobacco was *petun*, which was the native word for the plant in one of the South American languages, adopted by the Portuguese and from them taken into French. Nicot, who in the sixteenth century introduced tobacco into France as a medicinal herb, called it *nicotiane* or *herbe à la reine*, after Catherine de Medici.

sauuaiges. Encores que j'aye cy dessus representé ladicte isle de S[t] Domingue, je figueray neantmoins icy la coste d'icelle vers le Canal de Bahan. [MANQUE.]

I'ay parlé i[c]y dessus de la terre de la Flouride : je diray encores icy que c'est l'vne des bonnes terres que l'on sçauroit desirer, estant tresfretille sy elle estoit cultiuée ; mais le Roy d'Espaigne n'en fait pas d'estat, pource qu'il n'y a point de mines d'or ou d'argent. Il y a grande quantité de sauuaiges, lesquelz font la guerre aux Espaignolz, lesquelz ont vng fort sur la pointe de ladicte terre, où il y a vng bon port. Ceste terre basse la pluspart est fort agreable.

Quatre jours aprez que nous eusmes passé la Bermude, nous eusmes vnne sy grande tourmente, que toute nostre armée fust plus de six jours sans se pouuoir rallier. Après lesdictz six jours passez, le temps estant deueneu plus beau, et la mer plus tranquille, nous nous rassemblasmes tous, et

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Although I have before shown the island of Santo Domingo, I will nevertheless here represent the coast of it that lies along the Bahama channel. [MISSING.]

I have spoken above of the land of Florida ; I will say here again that it is one of the best countries that could be desired, for it is very fertile if it were cultivated, but the king of Spain takes no account of it because there are in it no mines of gold or silver. There are great numbers of savages, and these make war against the Spaniards, who have a fort on a point of the said land, where there is a good harbour. This low-lying land for the most part is very pretty.

Four days after passing Bermuda we had such a great tempest, that the whole of our armament was more than six days without being able to collect itself. After six days, the weather having become finer and the sea calmer, we all reassembled, and had the wind favourable till we sighted the

eusmes le vent fort à propos, jusques à la recognoissance des Essores, mesme l'isle Terciere [1] i[c]y figurée. [MANQUE.]

Il faut ne[ce]sserement que tous les vaisseaux qui s'en reuiennent des Indes recognoissent lesdictes isles des Essores, pour prendre là leur hauteur ; autrement ilz ne pourroient seurement paracheuer leur roulte.

Ayantz passé lesdictes isles des Essores, nous feusmes recognoistre le cap St Vincent,[2] où nous prismes deux vaisseaux Anglois qui estoient en guerre, que nous menames en la riuiere Fol. 46.
de Seuille,[3] d'où nous estions partis, et où fust l'acheuement de nostre voiage ; auquel je demeuray depuis nostre partement de Seiuille, tant sur mer que sur terre, deux ans deux mois.[4]

Azores, especially the island of Terceira [1] which is shown here. [MISSING.]

All vessels returning from the Indies must of necessity come in sight of the said islands of Azores to take observations there ; otherwise they could not with safety complete their route.

Having passed the said islands of Azores, we came in sight of Cape St. Vincent,[2] where we captured two English ships, fitted out for war, and took them to the river of Seville [3] whence we had departed, and where was the termination of our voyage ; on which, since our departure from Seville, I had been engaged, as well on sea as on land, two years and two months.[4]

[1] One of the Azores, the third largest, as its name implies.

[2] See p. 6, note 2. [3] The Guadalquivir. See p. 7 *supra*.

[4] The date at which Champlain left the town of Seville is not stated by him, and it is reasonable to suppose that he means by departure from Seville the departure of the fleet from Sanlucar de Barrameda. That date he gave as the beginning of January 1599, which would fix the time of their return to the same port as the beginning of March 1601. Laverdière thinks that their return must have been earlier and that Champlain must include in the two years and two months the time that elapsed between his departure from the town of Seville and that of the fleet from Sanlucar de Barrameda, since the details of the expedition given do not account for so long a period. It is quite possible, however, that Champlain's expedition to Mexico or that to Porto Bello may have occupied a longer time than he states. His chronology, as was stated above (see p. 18, note 2), is not exact.

PART II

OF SAVAGES

OR

VOYAGE OF SAMUEL

CHAMPLAIN OF BROUAGE

made to New France

in the year one thousand six hundred and three

translated and edited by

H. H. LANGTON

DES SAVVAGES, OV, VOYAGE DE SAMVEL CHAMPLAIN, DE BROVAGE, fait en la France nouuelle, l'an mil six cens trois:

CONTENANT

Les mœurs, façon de viure, mariages, guerres, & habitations des Sauuages de Canadas.

De la descouuerte de plus de quatre cens cinquante lieuës dans le païs des Sauuages. Quels peuples y habitent, des animaux qui s'y trouuent, des riuieres, lacs, isles & terres, & quels arbres & fruicts elles produisent.

De la coste d'Arcadie, des terres que l'on y a descouuertes, & de plusieurs mines qui y sont, selon le rapport des Sauuages.

A PARIS,
Chez CLAVDE DE MONSTR'ŒIL, tenant sa boutique en la Cour du Palais, au nom de Iesus.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

DES SAVVAGES,

OV,

VOYAGE DE SAMVEL

CHAMPLAIN, DE BROVAGE,

fait en la France nouuelle,
l'an mil six cens trois:

CONTENANT

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De la coste d'Arcadie, des terres que l'on y a descouuertes, & de plusieurs mines qui y sont, selon le rapport des Sauuages.

A PARIS,

Chez CLAVDE DE MONSTR'ŒIL, tenant sa boutique en la Cour du Palais, au nom de Iesus.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

OF SAVAGES,

OR

VOYAGE OF SAMUEL

CHAMPLAIN OF BROUAGE,

made to New France,
in the year one thousand six hundred and three:

CONTAINING

The customs, manner of life, marriages, warfare, and system of government of the savages of Canada.

The discovery of more than four hundred and fifty leagues in the territory of the savages: what peoples dwell there; of the animals found there; of the rivers, lakes, islands, and varieties of soil, and what trees and fruits these produce.

Description of the coast of Acadia, of the lands discovered there, and of several mines to be found there according to the report of the savages.

PARIS:

At CLAUDE DE MONSTR'ŒIL'S, whose shop is in the Court of the Palace, at the sign of Jesus.

WITH THE KING'S LICENCE.

EXTRAICT DV PRIVILEGE

PAR Priuilege du Roy donné à Paris le 15. de Nouembre, 1603. signé Brigard. Il est permis au Sieur de Champlain de faire imprimer par tel Imprimeur que bon luy semblera vn liure par luy composé, intitulé, *Des Sauuages, ou, Voyage du Sieur de Champlain, fait en l'an* 1603, & sont faictes deffences à tous Libraires & Imprimeurs de ce Royaume, de n'imprimer, vendre, & distribuer ledit liure, si ce n'est du consentement de celuy qu'il aura nommé & esleu, à peine de cinquante escus d'amende, de confiscation, & de tous despens, ainsi qu'il est plus amplement contenu audit Priuilege.

Ledit Sieur de Champlain, suiuant sondit Priuilege, a esleu & permis à Claude de Monstr'œil, Libraire en l'Vniuersité de Paris, d'imprimer le susdict liure, & luy a cedé & transporté sondit Priuilege, sans que nul autre le puisse imprimer ou faire imprimer, vendre & distribuer, durant le temps de cinq annees, sinon du consentement dudit Monstr'œil, sur les peines contenuës audit Priuilege.

EXTRACT FROM THE LICENCE

BY licence of the King given at Paris, November 15, 1603, signed Brigard. The Sieur de Champlain is allowed to have printed by such printer as shall seem good to him a book written by him entitled *Of Savages, or, Voyage of the Sieur de Champlain made in the year* 1603, and all booksellers and printers in this kingdom are forbidden to print, sell, and distribute the said book, except with the consent of him whom he shall have appointed and chosen, under penalty of a fine of fifty crowns, of confiscation, and of all costs, as is more fully contained in the said licence.

The said Sieur de Champlain, in accordance with his said licence, has chosen and allowed Claude de Monstr'œil, bookseller to the University of Paris, to print the book above-named, and has assigned and transferred to him his said licence, so that no other person may print it or have it printed, sell and distribute it during the period of five years, except with the consent of the said Monstr'œil, under the penalties contained in the said licence.

CHARLES DE MONTMORENCY

Admiral of France and Brittany 1596-1612.

To face p. 85.

A TRES-NOBLE, HAVT ET PVISSANT SEIGNEVR, Messire Charles de Montmorency,[1] Cheualier des Ordres du Roy, Seigneur d'Ampuille, & de Meru, Comte de Segōdigny, Vicomte de Meleun, Baron de Chasteauneuf, & de Gonnort, Admiral de France & de Bretagne.

MONSEIGNEVR,—Bien que plusieurs ayēt escript quelque chose du païs de Canadas, ie n'ay voulu pourtant m'arrester à leur dire, & ay expressément esté sur les lieux pour pouuoir rendre fidelle tesmoignage de la verité, laquelle vous verrez (s'il vous plaist) au petit discours que ie vous addresse, lequel ie vous supplie d'auoir pour aggreable, & ce faisant, ie prieray Dieu, Monseigneur, pour vostre grandeur & prosperité, & demeureray toute ma vie,—Vostre tres-humble & obeïssant seruiteur S. CHAMPLAIN.

To the most noble, high and mighty Lord Charles de Montmorency,[1] Chevalier of the King's Orders, Lord of Damville and Meru, Count of Secondigny, Viscount of Melun, Baron of Châteauneuf and Gonnort, Admiral of France and Brittany.

MY LORD,—Although many have written somewhat concerning the country of Canada, I have however not been disposed to abide by their descriptions, but have gone to the place on purpose to be able to give faithful testimony of the truth which you shall read (if it please you) in the brief account which I give you, and which I beg you graciously to accept; and so doing I shall pray God, My Lord, for your greatness and prosperity, and shall remain all my life—Your most humble and obedient servant S. CHAMPLAIN.

[1] Charles, Duc de Damville, or Dampville, was a younger brother of Henri, Duc de Montmorency, Constable of France, who died in 1614. He was long known as M. de Meru, and took part like others of his family in the civil and religious wars of the sixteenth century. He was created Admiral of France and Brittany on January 21, 1596, and his barony of Damville was erected into a duchy in 1610. He died in 1612.

LE SIEVR DE LA FRANCHISE

AV DISCOVRS DV

Sieur de Champlain

MVSES si vous chantez vrayment ie vous conseille,
Que vous louez Champlain, pour estre courageux,
Sans crainte des hasards il a veu tant de lieux,
Que ses relations nous contentent l'oreille :
Il a veu le Perou,[a] *Mexicque, & la merueille*
Du Vulcan infernal qui vomit tant de feux,[b]
Et les saults Mocosans,[c] *qui offencent les yeux*
De ceux qui osent veoir leur cheute nompareille :
Il nous promet encor de passer plus auant
Reduire les Gentils & trouuer le Leuant,
Par le Nort, ou le Su, pour aller à la Chine.
C'est cheritablemẽt tout pour l'amour de Dieu,
Fy des lasches poltrons qui ne bougent d'vn lieu,
Leur vie sans mentir me paroist trop mesquine.

De la Franchise.

[a] *Vid.* pp. 22, 57 and 66-70, *supra.*
[b] Teneriffe is perhaps meant.
[c] The Lachine rapid. The name Mocosa appears just beneath that of Hochelaga in Wytfliet's *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum* cited above, p. 36, note 1.

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DES SAVVAGES,

OV

VOYAGE DV SIEVR DE CHAMPLAIN,

faict en l'an 1603.

Bref discours, où est contenu le voyage depuis Honfleur en Normandie, iusques au port de Tadousac en Canadas.

CHAPITRE I.

NOVS partismes de Honfleur[1] le 15. iour de Mars 1603. Cedit iour nous relaschasmes à la Rade du Haure de Grace, pour n'auoir le vent fauorable. Le Dimanche ensuyuant 16. iour dudict mois, nous mismes à la voille pour faire nostre route. Le 17. ensuiuant nous

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OF SAVAGES

OR

VOYAGE OF THE SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN

made in the year 1603.

CHAPTER I

Brief narrative, in which is contained the voyage from Honfleur in Normandy to the port of Tadoussac in Canada.

WE set out from Honfleur,[1] the fifteenth day of March 1603. This same day we put into the roadstead of Havre de Grace, because the wind was contrary. On Sunday following, the sixteenth day of the said month, we set sail to proceed on our voyage. On the next

[1] An ancient seaport at the mouth of the Seine on the south side of the estuary. Owing to the formation of sand-banks it lost much of its trade to Havre. Their ship was *La Bonne-Renommée.*

eusmes la veuë d'Orgny & Grenesey,[1] qui sont des isles entre la coste de Normandie & Angleterre. Le 18. dudit mois eusmes la cognoissance de la coste de Bretagne. Le 19. nous Fol. 1v. faisions estat à 7. heures du soir estre le trauers de Ouessans.[2] Le 21. à 7. heures [3] du matin nous rencontrasmes 7. vaisseaux Flamans, qui à nostre iugement venoient des Indes. Le iour de Pasques 30. dudit mois fusmes contrariez d'vne grande tourmente, qui paroissoit estre plustost foudre que vent, qui dura l'espace de dixsept iours : mais non si grande qu'elle auoit fait les deux premiers iours : & durant cedit tẽps nous eusmes plus de d'eschet que d'auancement. Le 16. iour d'Auril le temps commença à s'adoucir, & la mer plus belle qu'elle n'auoit esté auec contentement d'vn chacun : de façon que continuans nostredite route iusques au 28. iour

Grande Tourmẽte.

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day, the seventeenth, we sighted Alderney and Guernsey,[1] which are islands between the coasts of Normandy and England. On the eighteenth of the said month, we sighted the coast of Brittany. On the nineteenth, at seven o'clock in the evening, we reckoned that we were off Ushant.[2] On the twenty-first, at seven [3] o'clock in the morning, we met with seven Flemish ships, which, as we judged, were coming from the Indies. On Easter Sunday, the thirtieth of the said month, we were impeded by a great storm, which seemed to be rather thunder than wind, and lasted the space of seventeen days, but was not so severe as it had been the first two days. During that time we rather lost than gained ground. On the sixteenth day of April the weather began to moderate, and the sea became calmer than before, to the contentment of all; so that we continued our said course until the twenty-

[1] The Channel islands Alderney and Guernsey. Champlain calls the first by its French name, Aurigny.

[2] An island terminating westward the line of shoals and islets which stretches into the Atlantic beyond the northern peninsula of Brittany, and forms the most western point of France.

[3] The original French text has "17," evidently a misprint for "7."

dudit mois que rencontrasmes vne glace fort haute. Le lendemain nous eusmes congnoissance d'vn banc de glace qui duroit plus de 8. lieuës de long, auec vne infinité d'autres moindres, qui fut l'occasion que nous ne peusmes passer : & à l'estime du Pilote lesdictes glaces estoient à quelque 100. ou 120. lieues de la terre de Canadas, & estions par les 45. degrez $\frac{2}{3}$, & vinsmes trouuer passage par les 44. Le 2. de May nous entrasmes sur le banc[1] à vnze heures du iour par les 44. degrez $\frac{1}{3}$. Le 6. dudit mois nous vinsmes si proche de terre que nous oyons la mer battre à la coste : mais nous ne la peusmes recongnoistre pour l'espoisseur de la brume dont cesdites costes sont sujectes, qui fut cause que nous nous mismes à la mer encores quelques lieuës, iusques au lendemain matin, que nous eusmes cognoissance de terre d'vn temps assez beau, qui estoit le cap de Saincte Marie.[2] Le

Rencontre de plusieurs grãdes glaces.

Fol. 2.

Cap de S. Marie.

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eighth of the said month, when we met with a very high iceberg. The next day, we sighted an ice-floe more than eight leagues in length, with an infinite number of other smaller pieces of ice, which hindered our passage. And, by the reckoning of the pilot, this ice was some hundred or hundred and twenty leagues from the coast of Canada. We were in latitude 45° 40′, and found passage in latitude 44°. On May 2, at eleven o'clock in the morning, we came upon the Bank[1] in latitude 44° 20′. On the sixth of the said month, we came so near land that we heard the sea beat against the shore, but could not see it for the thickness of the fog, to which these coasts are subject ; and on this account we again put out to sea some leagues, until the next morning, when, the weather being very clear, we sighted land, which was Cape St. Mary.[2]

[1] The Newfoundland "Banks," the great shoals extending south and east of Newfoundland, which have been a fishing ground for cod ever since the discovery of North America.

[2] Cape St. Mary, the south-western point of the peninsula of Avalon in Newfoundland.

12. iour ensuiuant nous fusmes surprins d'vn grād coup de vent qui dura 2. iours. Le 15. dudit mois nous eusmes cognoissance des isles de sainct Pierre.[1] Le 17. ensuiuant nous rencontrasmes vn banc de glace pres du cap de Raie,[2] qui contenoit six lieuës, qui fut occasion que nous ammenasmes toute la nuict, pour euiter le danger où nous pouuions courir. Le lendemain nous mismes à la voille, & eusmes congnoissance du Cap de Raie, & isles de sainct Paul, & Cap de sainct Laurēt qui est terre ferme à la bande du Su : & dudit Cap de sainct Laurens iusques audit Cap de Raie, il y a dixhuict lieuës, qui est la largeur de l'entree de la grande baie de Canadas.[3] Cedit iour sur les dix heures du matin nous rencontrasmes Fol. 2v. vne autre glace qui cōtenoit plus de huict lieuës de long. Le

Isles de S. Pierre.

Cap de Raye, Isles de S. Paul, Cap de S. Laurens.

On the next day, the twelfth, we were overtaken by a great gale of wind, which lasted two days. On the fifteenth of the same month, we sighted the islands of St. Pierre.[1] On the seventeenth, we met with an ice-floe near cape Ray,[2] six leagues in length, which caused us to strike sail for the whole night, to avoid the danger we might incur. The next day we set sail, and sighted cape Ray, and the St. Paul islands, and cape St. Lawrence, which is the mainland on the south side. And from cape St. Lawrence to cape Ray is eighteen leagues, which is the breadth of the entrance to the great Gulf of Canada.[3] The same day, about ten o'clock in the morning, we met with another ice-floe, more than eight leagues long. On the twentieth of the said month, we came

[1] The name is now restricted to the smaller of the two islands, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, lying south of Newfoundland, which still belong to France.

[2] The south-western extremity of Newfoundland, some 1700 feet above the sea.

[3] From cape Ray to capes St. Lawrence and North, the northern points of Cape Breton Island across Cabot Strait, which forms the southern entrance into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the distance is about sixty miles. St. Paul's island (there is but one) lies fifteen miles out from cape North.

20. dudict mois nous eusmes congnoissance d'vne isle qui a quelque 25. ou 30. lieues de long, qui s'appelle Anticosty,[1] qui est l'entree de la riuiere de Canadas.[2] Le lendemain eusmes congnoissance de Gachepé, terre fort haute,[3] & commençasmes à entrer dans ladicte riuiere de Canadas, en rengeant la bande du Su iusques à Mantanne,[4] où il y a dudict Gachepé 65. lieues. Dudict Mantanne, nous vinsmes prendre congnoissance du Pic,[5] où il y a vingt lieuës, qui est à ladicte bande du Su ; dudict Pic nous trauersasmes la riuiere iusques à Tadousac,[6] où il y a 15. lieuës. Toutes

Anticosty.

Gachepé.

Mantãne.

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in sight of an island, some twenty-five or thirty leagues in length, called Anticosti,[1] which is the entrance to the river of Canada.[2] The next day we sighted Gaspé, a very high land,[3] and began to enter the said river of Canada, skirting the south coast as far as Mantanne,[4] distant from Gaspé sixty-five leagues ; from the said Mantanne we came to within sight of Bic,[5] a distance of twenty leagues, which is on the south side also ; from the said Bic we crossed the river to Tadoussac,[6]

[1] Anticosti lies twelve to fourteen miles from the north shore of the gulf, and about 45 miles from the peninsula of Gaspé on the south. Its total length is 122 miles. Anticosti is supposed to be a corruption of its Indian name, Natiscotek, "the hunting ground of the bear," spelled variously Naticousti (Thevet, 1586), Natiscotec (Hakluyt, 1600), and Natascoueh (the modern Montagnais name). Jacques Cartier, the discoverer, called it Assumption Island. (Condensed from note in Laverdière, *op. cit.*, ii. 3.)

[2] The St. Lawrence river.

[3] The Shickshock mountains, the highest in eastern Canada, which follow the line of the north shore of the Gaspé peninsula, are 3000 to 4000 feet high.

[4] Now Matane, a small river flowing into the St. Lawrence from the south in long. 67° 32′ west. The distance from cape Gaspé given by Champlain, 195 miles, is approximately correct.

[5] *Pic*, in the French text, is probably a printer's error for Bic. On Champlain's map of 1612 (Plate LXXXI) the name appears as *le bic*, and Le Jeune in 1635 writes of the *Isle du Bic*.

[6] At the mouth of the Saguenay river. According to Laverdière the name is the Montagnais Indian word *totouchac*, "knolls," descriptive of the rocky hills surrounding the Saguenay. The map of Tadoussac and its surroundings given in volume ii. of this edition should be consulted to elucidate the description here.

Terres fort hautes & mauuaises.

Port de Tadousac et sa description.

cesdictes terres sont fort hautes esleuees, qui sont sterilles, n'apportant aucune commodité. Le 24. dudit mois nous vinsmes mouiller l'ancre deuant Tadousac, & le 26. nous entrasmes dans ledict port, qui est faict comme vne ance à l'entree de la riuiere du Sagenay,[1] où il y a vn courant d'eau & maree fort estrãge, pour sa vistesse & profondité, où quelquesfois il vient des vents impetueux à cause de la froidure qu'ils amenent auec eux. Lon tient que ladicte riuiere a quelque 45. ou 50. lieuës iusques au Fol. 3. premier sault, & viẽt du costé du Nort noroüest : Ledit port de Tadousac est petit, où il ne pourroit que dix ou douze vaisseaux : mais il y a de l'eau assez à Est à l'abry de ladite riuiere de Sagenay le long d'vne petite montagne qui est presque coupee de la mer : le reste se sont montagnes hautes esleuees, où il y a peu de terre,

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a distance of fifteen leagues. All these places are very high, and barren, producing nothing.

On the twenty-fourth of the said month, we cast anchor before Tadoussac, and on the twenty-sixth entered the said harbour, which is like a cove at the mouth of the Saguenay river.[1] Here there is a current and tide, very unusual for its swiftness and depth, where sometimes boisterous winds blow because of the cold they bring with them. It is supposed that the distance up the said river is some forty-five or fifty leagues to the first fall, and that it comes from the north-north-west. The said harbour of Tadoussac is small; and could not hold above ten or twelve ships: but there is water enough towards the east, with shelter from the river Saguenay along a little hill, which is almost cut off by the sea. The rest consists of high mountains, whereon is little soil, but only

[1] Saguenay, a Montagnais word, *Saki-nip*, signifying "water which springs forth" (Laverdière, *op. cit.*).

sinon rochers & sables remplis de bois de pins,[1] cyprez,[2] sapins,[3] boulles,[4] & quelques manieres d'arbres de peu : il y a vn petit estang proche dudict port renfermé de montaignes couuertes de bois. A l'entree dudict port il y a deux pointes, l'vne du costé de Ouest contenāt vne lieuë en mer, qui s'appelle la pointe de sainct Mathieu, & l'autre du costé de Suest contenant vn quart de lieuë, qui s'appelle la pointe de tous les Diables :[5] les vents du Su & Su-suest & Su-sorouest, frapēt dedans ledit port. Mais de la pointe de sainct Mathieu iusques à ladite pointe de tous les Diables, il y a pres d'vne lieuë : l'vne & l'autre pointe asseche de basse mer.

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rocks and sands overgrown with pine,[1] cypress,[2] firs,[3] birch,[4] and other varieties of trees of small value. There is a little lake near the said harbour, enclosed by well-wooded mountains. At the entrance of the said harbour are two points, one on the west called St. Matthew's point, running a league out into the sea, and the other on the south-east side called All Devils' point,[5] running out a quarter of a league. The south, south-south-east and south-south-west winds strike into the harbour. But from St. Matthew's point to the said All Devils' point is nearly a league : both these points are dry at low water.

[1] The white pine (*Pinus Strobus* Linn.), probably, although the French word is used for all varieties without distinction of species. (W. F. Ganong, *Identity of the animals and plants mentioned by the early voyagers to eastern Canada and Newfoundland.* In *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, 3rd ser., III, ii. 1909.)

[2] Not the true cypress, which does not occur in America, but the *Arbor vitæ* or white cedar (*Thuja occidentalis* Linn.) of Canada. In a later voyage he applies the French word *cyprès* to the red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana* Linn.) of New England, and calls the white cedar *cèdre blanc.* In French Canada at the present day *cyprès* is the word used for the Banksian pine (*Pinus Banksiana* Lamb.). (Ganong, *op. cit.*)

[3] The word *sapin* is applied by Champlain in a generic sense to all the trees commonly called spruce in English. In Canadian French *sapin* is now used for balsam fir (*Abies balsamea* (Linn.) Mill.), while the word for the spruce proper, *Picea* species, is *épinette.* (Ganong, *op. cit.*)

[4] *Boulle* is the white birch (*Betula alba* Linn.). See p. 105, note 1.

[5] St. Matthew's point, now pointe aux Alouettes ; All Devils' point (pointe de Tous Les Diables), now pointe aux Vaches. Both the earlier names were obsolete when Champlain published his edition of 1632. (Slafter, *Champlain's Voyages, ad loc.* Boston : Prince Society, 1878-1882.)

Bonne reception faicte aux François par le grand Sagamo des Sauuages de Canada, leurs festins & danses, la guerre qu'ils ont auec les Irocois, la façon & dequoy sont faicts leurs Canots & Cabanes: Auec la description de la poincte de Sainct Matthieu. Fol. 3v.

CHAP. II.

LE 27. iour nous fusmes trouuer les sauuages à la pointe de sainct Mathieu, qui est à vne lieuë de Tadousac, auec les deux Sauuages que mena le sieur du Pont [1] pour faire le rapport de ce qu'ils auoient veu en France, & de la bonne reception que leur auoit fait le Roy.[2] Ayant mis pied à terre nous fusmes à la cabanne de leur

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CHAPTER II

Kind reception accorded to the French by the grand Sagamore of the savages of Canada; their feasts and dances; the war they wage with the Iroquois; the manner of making their canoes and cabins, and the material; with the description of St. Matthew's Point.

ON the twenty-seventh, accompanied by the two savages whom Monsieur du Pont [1] brought to make report of what they had seen in France, and of the good reception the King [2] had given them, we sought the savages at St. Matthew's point, which is a league from Tadoussac. As soon as we had landed we went to the lodge

[1] François Gravé, Sieur du Pont, frequently alluded to as Pont-Gravé or Dupont-Gravé, a merchant of St. Malo who had already made trading voyages to Canada before 1600, established in that year along with Chauvin a trading post at Tadoussac, which was abandoned after one winter. He did not cease, however, to be interested in the country for trade purposes, and the association with Champlain which began with this voyage of 1603 continued to the end of their lives. Pont-Gravé was placed in charge of Port-Royal during the winter of 1605-6. See p. 370 *infra*.

[2] Henri IV. Pont-Gravé, who in 1600 moved to Honfleur, had taken them back to France on a previous voyage.

grand Sagamo,[1] qui s'appelle Anadabijou, où nous le trouuasmes auec quelque 80. ou 100. de ses compagnons qui faisoiẽt Tabagie[2] (qui veut dire festin), lequel nous reçeut fort bien selon la coustume du pays, & nous fist assoir aupres de luy, & tous les Sauuages arangez les vns aupres des autres des deux costez de ladite cabanne. L'vn des Sauuages que nous auions amené commença à faire sa harangue, de la bonne reception

François bien receus par les Sauuages.

Fol. 4.

Harangue de l'vn des Sauuages que nous auiõs remenez.

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of their grand Sagamore,[1] named Anadabijou, where we found him and some eighty or a hundred of his companions, making *Tabagie*[2] (that is to say, a feast). He received us very well, after the fashion of the country, and made us sit down beside him, while all the savages ranged themselves one next the other on both sides of the lodge. One of the savages whom we had brought began to make his oration, of the

[1] The French form of this word seems to be taken from the Micmac *Sakŭmow'*. S. Rand, *Dictionary of the Language of the Micmac Indians*, 57. Halifax, 1888.

[2] Littré derives this word from *tabac*, and makes it signify a place where tobacco is smoked, on the authority of Sanson, the French geographer, who wrote on America about 1662. Hatzfeld and Darmesteter in their dictionary also call it a *dérivé irrégulier de tabac*. Earlier authorities, however, know nothing of this supposed connection with *tabac*. Champlain here treats it as a native word; and Lescarbot evidently considers it to be the French adaptation of an Indian word, properly pronounced *tabaguia*, and signifying a feast. (See Lescarbot, *Hist. of N. France*, iii. 124 and 393 note. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1914.) The word *tabac* is rarely found in French as early as this. Champlain and Lescarbot habitually use *petun* to signify tobacco; and Cotgrave (1611) gives *petun* but not *tabac*. The latter came into use through the Spanish, and is said to be taken from a West Indian word meaning the tube or pipe which held the tobacco or perhaps the plant itself. On page 114 *infra*, Champlain, repeating a legend related to him by the grand sagamore, says, "there was a man who had plenty of *tabac* (which is a herb, the smoke of which they take)." The word *tabac*, however, may have been the term used by the interpreter, perhaps from intercourse with the Spaniards, or Champlain himself may have used the word as a reminiscence of his acquaintance with it on his earlier voyage. (See his Voyage to the West Indies, *supra*, p. 78.) In any case *tabagie* cannot have been a French derivative from *tabac*, but must have been an Indian word adopted by Champlain and after him by Lescarbot in its signification of feast or banquet.

que leur auoit fait le Roy, & le bon traictement qu'ils auoient receu en France, & qu'ils s'asseurassent que sadite Majesté leur vouloit du bien, & desiroit peupler leur terre, & faire paix auec leurs ennemis (qui sont les Irocois) ou leur enuoyer des forces pour les vaincre : en leur comptant aussi les beaux Chasteaux, Palais, maisons & peuples qu'ils auoient veus, & nostre façon de viure, il fut entendu auec vn silence si grand qu'il ne se peut dire de plus. Or apres qu'il eust acheué sa harangue, ledict grand Sagamo Anadabijou, l'ayant attentiuement ouy, il commença à prendre du Petum,[1] & en donner audict sieur du Pont Graué de S. Malo, & à moy, & à quelques autres Sagamos qui estoient aupres de luy : ayant bien petunné, il commença à faire sa harangue à tous, parlant pozement, s'arrestant quelque fois vn peu, & puis reprenoit[a] sa parolle, en leur disant, Que veritablement ils deuoient estre fort cõtens d'auoir sadicte Majesté pour grand amy, ils respondirent tous

Harangue du grand Sagamo.

[a] L'édition de 1604 porte, *reprenant*.

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good reception that the king had given them, and of the good entertainment they had received in France, and that they might feel assured His Majesty wished them well, and desired to people their country, and to make peace with their enemies (who are the Iroquois) or send forces to vanquish them. He also told of the fine castles, palaces, houses, and peoples they had seen, and of our manner of living. He was heard with the greatest possible silence. Now when he had ended his oration, the said grand Sagamore Anadabijou, who had listened to him attentively, began to smoke tobacco,[1] and to pass on his pipe to Monsieur du Pont-Gravé of St. Malo, and to me, and to certain other Sagamores who were near him. After smoking some time, he began to address the whole gathering, speaking with gravity, pausing sometimes a little, and then resuming his speech, saying to them, that in truth they ought to be very glad to have His Majesty

[1] *Petum* or *petun*, from a South American word for tobacco (*vide supra*, p. 78, note 1).

Fol. 4v. d'vne voix, *ho, ho, ho*, qui est à dire, *ouy, ouy*. Luy continuant tousiours sadicte harangue, dict, Qu'il estoit fort aise que sadicte Majesté peuplast leur terre, & fist la guerre à leurs ennemis, qu'il n'y auoit nation au monde à qu'ils voulussent plus de bien qu'aux François : En fin il leur fit entendre à tous le bien & vtilité qu'ils pourroient receuoir de sadicte Majesté : Apres qu'il eust acheué sa harangue, nous sortismes de sa Cabanne, & eux commencerent à faire leur Tabagie, ou festin, qu'ils font auec des chairs d'Orignac, qui est cõme bœuf, d'Ours, de Loumarins & Castors, qui sont les viandes les plus ordinaires qu'ils ont, & du gibier en quantité : ils auoient huict ou dix chaudieres, pleines de viandes, au milieu de ladicte cabanne, & estoient esloignees les vnes des autres quelque six pas, & chacune a son feu. Ils sont assis des deux costez (comme i'ay dit cy-dessus) auec chacun son escuelle d'escorce d'arbre : & lors que la viande est cuitte il y en a vn qui fait les partages à chacun dans lesdictes escuëlles,

Festin des Sauuages.

Cõme ils font cuire leurs viãdes.

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for their great friend. They answered all with one voice, *Ho, ho, ho*, which is to say, *yes, yes*. Continuing his speech, he said that he was well content that His said Majesty should people their country, and make war on their enemies, and that there was no nation in the world to which they wished more good than to the French. Finally, he gave them all to understand the advantage and profit they might receive from His said Majesty. When he had ended his speech, we went out of his lodge, and they began to hold their *Tabagie* or feast, which they make with the flesh of moose, which is like beef, with that of bear, seal, and beaver, which are their most ordinary meats, and with great quantities of wild fowl. They had eight or ten kettles full of meats in the midst of the said lodge, and these were set some six paces apart, and each on its own fire. The men sat on both sides (as I said before), each with his porringer made of the bark of a tree; and when the meat is cooked, one of them apportions to

Mangent fort salement.

Sauuages dansent autour des chaudieres.

où ils mangent fort sallement : car quand ils ont les mains grasses, ils les frotent à leurs cheueux, ou bien au poil de leurs chiens, dōt ils ont quantité pour la chasse. Premier que Fol. 5. leur viande fut cuitte, il y en eust vn qui se leua, & print vn chien, & s'en alla sauter autour desdictes chaudieres d'vn bout de la cabanne à l'autre : Estant deuāt le grand Sagamo, il ietta son chien à terre de force, & puis tous d'vne voix ils s'escrierent, *ho*, *ho*, *ho :* ce qu'ayant faict, s'en alla asseoir à sa place. En mesme instant, vn autre se leua, & feist le semblable, continuant tousiours, iusques à ce que la viande fust cuitte. Or apres auoir acheué leur Tabagie, ils commencerent à dancer, en prenant les testes de leurs ennemis, qui leur pendoient par derriere : En signe de resiouïssance, il y en a vn ou deux qui chātent en accordant leur voix par la mesure de leurs mains qu'ils frappent sur leurs genoux, puis ils s'arrestent quelques-fois, en s'escriant, *ho*, *ho*, *ho*, & recommencent à dancer en soufflant comme vn homme qui est

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every man his part, into these dishes, out of which they feed very filthily, for when their hands are greasy they rub them on their hair, or else on the hair of their dogs, of which they have many for hunting. Before their meat was cooked, one of them rose up, and took a dog, and went leaping about the said kettles from one end of the lodge to the other. When he came in front of the grand Sagamore, he threw his dog violently upon the ground, and then all with one voice cried, *Ho*, *ho*, *ho ;* having done this, he went and sat down in his place. Immediately another rose up and did the like, and so they continued until the meat was cooked. Then when they had ended their feast, they began to dance, taking in their hands as a mark of rejoicing the scalps of their enemies, which hung behind them. There were one or two who sang, keeping time by the beat of their hands, which they strike upon their knees ; then they stop sometimes, and cry, *Ho*, *ho*, *ho*, and begin again to dance, panting like a man out of breath.

hors d'aleine : Ils faisoient ceste resiouïssance pour la victoire par eux obtenüe sur les Irocois, dont ils en auoient tué quelque cent, ausquels ils couperent les testes, qu'ils auoient auec eux pour leur ceremonie. Ils estoient trois nations quand ils furent à la guerre, les Estechemins, Algoumequins, & Montagnes,[1] au nombre de mille, qui allerent faire la guerre ausdicts Irocois qu'ils rencontrerent à l'entree de la riuiere desdits Irocois,[2] & en assommerent vne centeine : la guerre qu'ils font, n'est que par surprises, car autrement ils auroient peur, & craignent trop lesdits Irocois, qui sont en plus grand nombre que lesdits Montagnes, Estechemains, & Algoumequins. Le vingt-huictiesme iour dudit mois, ils se

Victoire obtenuë sur les Irocois.

Trois nations de Sauuages, Estechemins, Algoumequins et Mõtagnes.

Fol. 5v.

They were celebrating this triumph for a victory they had won over the Iroquois, of whom they had slain about a hundred, whose scalps they cut off, and had with them for the ceremony. Three nations had taken part in the war, the Etechemins, Algonquins, and Montagnais,[1] to the number of a thousand, and these went on the war-path against the Iroquois, whom they encountered at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois [2] and slew a hundred of them. The mode of warfare which they practise is altogether by surprises ; for otherwise they would be afraid, and too much in dread of the said Iroquois, who are in greater number than the said Montagnais, Etechemins, and Algonquins.

On the twenty-eighth day of this month, they came and

[1] The Etechemins, called later Malecites and Penobscots, occupied the country from the river St. John to the Penobscot in Maine. The Algonquins here referred to were those of the Ottawa river valley. The Montagnais inhabited both sides of the Saguenay and had their trading centre at Tadoussac. These tribes were allied against the powerful confederacy of the Iroquois who occupied the northern part of what is now the State of New York, and also held the south shore of the St. Lawrence and the hilly country about the Richelieu river and lake Champlain. (Laverdière and Slafter, *op. cit.*)

[2] The Richelieu river, which discharges the waters of lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence at Sorel.

vindrēt cabāner audit port de Tadousac, où estoit nostre vaisseau. A la pointe du iour, leurdit grand Sagamo sortit de sa cabāne, allant autour de toutes les autres cabānes, en criant à haute voix, Qu'ils eussent à desloger pour aller à Tadousac, où estoient leurs bons amis : Tout aussi tost vn chacun d'eux deffit sa cabanne, en moins d'vn rien, & ledit grand Capitaine le premier commença à prendre son Canot, & le porter à la mer, où il embarqua sa femme & ses enfans, & quantité de fourreures, & se meirent ainsi pres de deux cents Canots, qui vont estrangemēt : Car encore que nostre Chaloupe fut bien armee, si alloient-ils plus viste que nous. Il n'y a que deux personnes qui trauaillēt à la nage, l'homme & la femme : Leurs Canos ont quelque huict ou neuf pas de long, & large comme d'vn pas, ou pas & demy par le milieu, & vont tousiours en amoindrissant par les deux bouts : ils sont fort subiects à tourner si on ne les sçait bien gouuerner, car ils sont faicts d'escorce d'arbre appellé

Deslogement des Sauuages de la pointe de S. Math. pour venir à Tadousac voir les François.

Que c'est, & comment sont faicts les Canos des Sauuages.

Fol. 6.

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encamped at the aforesaid harbour of Tadoussac, where lay our ship. At daybreak their grand Sagamore came out of his lodge, going round about all the other lodges, and crying with a loud voice that they should break camp to go to Tadoussac, where their good friends were. Immediately every man in a trice took down his lodge, and the said grand Captain was the first to begin to take his canoe and carry it to the water, wherein he embarked his wife and children, and a quantity of furs ; and in like manner were launched well nigh two hundred canoes, which go extraordinarily well ; for though our shallop was well manned, yet they went more swiftly than we. There are but two that paddle, the man and the wife. Their canoes are some eight or nine paces long, and a pace or a pace and a half broad amidships, and grow sharper and sharper toward both ends. They are very liable to overturn, if one know not how to manage them rightly ; for they are made of a bark of trees called

Bouille,[1] renforcez par le dedans de petits cercles de bois bien & proprement faicts, & sont si legers, qu'vn homme en porte vn aisément, & chacun Cano peut porter la pesanteur d'vne pipe :[2] Quand ils veulent trauerser la terre pour aller à quelque riuiere où ils ont affaire, ils les portent auec eux. Leurs cabannes sont basses, faictes comme des tētes couuertes de ladite escorce d'arbre, & laissent tout le haut descouuert comme d'vn pied, d'où le iour leur vient, & font plusieurs feux droit au milieu de leur cabanne, où ils sont quelques-fois dix mesnages ensēble. Ils couchent sur des peaux les vns parmy les autres, les chiens auec eux. Ils estoient au nombre de mille personnes, tant hommes que femmes & enfans. Le lieu de la pointe de S. Matthieu, où ils estoient premierement cabannez, est assez

Cabannes des Sauuages, dequoy, et comment ils sont faictes.

Description de la poincte de S. Matthieu.

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birch-bark,[1] strengthened within by little circles of wood strongly and neatly fashioned, and are so light that a man can carry one of them easily ; and every canoe can carry the weight of a pipe.[2] When they wish to go overland to get to some river where they have business, they carry them with them.

Their lodges are low, made like tents, covered with the aforesaid tree-bark ; they leave all the top uncovered about a foot space, through which the light comes in ; and make many fires right in the midst of their lodge, where there are sometimes ten households together. They sleep upon skins one beside another, and their dogs with them.

They were in number about a thousand persons, men as well as women and children. The spot at St. Matthew's point, where they were first encamped, is very pretty. They

[1] The French word *bouille* is a dialect word for *bouleau* (*Betula alba* Linn.), the white birch (Slafter, *op. cit.*).

[2] A measure of capacity applied to wines, which varied according to the district and the kind of wine. The Bordeaux pipe contained 432 Paris pints, which is nearly equivalent to 100 gallons, and would weigh about 1000 lbs. *Cf.* p. 55, note 2.

plaisant : ils estoient au bas d'vn petit costau plein d'arbres de sapins & cypres. A ladicte pointe, il y a vne petite place Fol. 6v. vnie qui descouure de fort loin, & au dessus dudit costau est vne terre vnie, contenant vne lieuë de long, demye de large, couuerte d'arbres ; la terre est fort sablōneuse, où il y a de bōs pasturages ; tout le reste ce ne sont que montaignes de rochers fort mauuais : la mer bat autour dudit costau qui asseiche pres d'vne grāde demie lieuë de basse eau.

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were at the bottom of a little hill, covered with fir and cypress trees. Upon this point there is a little level plot, which is visible from afar off, and upon the top of the hill is a level plain, a league long, and half a league broad, covered with trees ; the soil is very sandy, and there is good pasture there. All the rest is nothing but mountains of very barren rocks. The sea beats round about the said hill, which is dry almost for a full half league at low water.

La resiouïssance que font les Sauuages apres qu'ils ont eu victoire sur leurs ennemis, leurs humeurs, endurent la faim, sont malicieux, leur croyance & faulses opinions, parlent aux diables, leurs habits, & comme ils vont sur les neiges, auec la maniere de leur mariage, & de l'enterrement de leurs morts.

CHAP. III.

Resiouïssance que les Sauuages firent de la victoire qu'ils auoient obtenuë sur leurs ennemis les Irocois.

LE 9. iour de Iuin les Sauuages commencerent à se resiouir tous ensemble & faire leur Tabagie, comme i'ay dit cy dessus, & danser, pour ladicte victoire qu'ils auoient obtenuë contre leurs ennemis. Or apres auoir fait bonne chere, les Algoumequins vne des trois nations, Fol. 7. sortirent de leurs cabãnes, & se retirerent à part dans vne place publique, feirent arranger toutes leurs femmes & filles les vnes pres des autres, & eux se mirent derriere chantant tous d'vne voix comme i'ay dit cy deuant : Aussi tost toutes les femmes & filles commencerent à quitter leurs robbes de peaux,

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CHAPTER III

The rejoicing of the savages after their victory over their enemies; their disposition, endurance of hunger, maliciousness; their beliefs and false ideas; communication with devils; their clothing, and how they walk on the snow; with their marriage customs and the burial of their dead.

ON the ninth day of June the savages all began to make merry together, and to hold their feast, as I have described before, and to dance, in honour of the aforesaid victory which they had obtained over their enemies. Now after they had made good cheer, the Algonquins, one of the three nations, went out of their lodges, and withdrew by themselves into an open place. Here they arranged all their women and girls side by side, and themselves stood behind, singing all in unison in the manner I have already described. Suddenly all the women and girls proceeded to cast off their

& se meirent toutes nuës monstrans leur nature, neantmoins paree de Matachia,[1] qui sont patenostres & cordons entrelassez, faicts de poil de Porc-espic, qu'ils teignent de diuerses coulleurs. Apres auoir acheué leurs chants, ils dirent tous d'vne voix, *ho*, *ho*, *ho*; à mesme instant, toutes les femmes & filles se couuroient de leurs robbes, car elles sont à leurs pieds, & s'arrestent quelque peu : & puis aussi tost recommençans à chanter ils laissent aller leurs robbes comme auparauant : Ils ne bougent d'vn lieu en dansant, & font quelques gestes & mouuemens du corps, leuans vn pied, & puis l'autre, en frappāt contre terre. Or en faisant ceste danse, le Sagamo des Algoumequins qui s'appelle Besouat,[2] estoit assis deuant lesdictes femmes & filles, au millieu de deux

Sagamo des Algoumequins.

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mantles of skins, and stripped themselves stark naked, showing their privities, but retaining their ornaments of matachias,[1] which are beads and braided cords made of porcupine quills, dyed of various colours. After they had made an end of their songs, they cried all with one voice, *Ho*, *ho*, *ho*; at the same instant all the women and girls covered themselves with their mantles, which were at their feet, and they had a short rest; then all at once beginning again to sing, they let fall their mantles as before. They do not stir from one spot when they dance, but make certain gestures and motions of the body, first lifting up one foot and then the other, and stamping upon the ground. While they were performing this dance, the Sagamore of the Algonquins, whose name was Besouat,[2] was seated before the said women and girls, between two poles, on which hung the

[1] *Matachia*, an Indian word, said by Lescarbot to be Micmac. Denys and Le Clercq apply it to paintings. It does not appear in Rand's Micmac dictionary. It is still used in Canadian-French, according to Clapin (*Dictionnaire canadien-français*, 360), who also says that it is of Algonquin origin. (See discussion of its meaning in Ganong's edition of Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia*, 89, note. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1910.)

[2] Probably the same as Tessouat, chief of the Algonquins of the Isle mentioned in the author's account of his expedition in 1613 (Laverdière, *op. cit.*).

Fol. 7v. bastons, où estoient les testes de leurs ennemis penduës : quelque fois il se leuoit & s'en alloit haranguant & disant aux Montaignes & Estechemains : "Voyez comme nous nous resiouïssons de la victoire que nous auons obtenüe sur [a] nos ennemis : il faut que vous en faciez autant, affin que nous soyons contens." Puis tous ensemble disoient, *ho, ho, ho.* Retourné qu'il fut en sa place, le Grand Sagamo auec tous ses compagnons [1] despouillerent leurs robbes, estans tous nuds hors mis leur nature, qui est couuerte d'vne petite peau, & prindrent chacun ce que bon leur sembla, comme Matachias, haches, espees, chauderons, graisses, chair d'Orignac, Loup-marin, bref chacun auoit vn present qu'ils allerent donner aux Algoumequins. Apres toutes ces ceremonies la danse cessa, & lesdits Algoumequins, hōmes & femmes, emporterēt leurs presens dās [b] leurs cabannes. Ils firēt encor mettre deux hommes de chacune natiō des plus dispos, qu'ils feirent courir, & celuy qui fut le plus viste à la course eut vn present.

Present des Montagnes et Estechemins.

[a] 1604, *de.* [b] 1604, *à.*

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scalps of their enemies. Sometimes he arose and moved away to address the Montagnais and Etechemins, saying to them : "See how we rejoice for the victory which we have obtained over our enemies ; ye must do the like, that we may be satisfied." Then all cried together, *Ho, ho, ho.* As soon as he had returned to his place, the grand Sagamore and all his companions [1] cast off their mantles, being stark naked save their privities, which were covered with a small piece of skin, and each of them took what seemed proper to him, such as matachias, tomahawks, swords, kettles, pieces of fat, moose flesh, seal ; in a word, every one had a present, which they proceeded to give to the Algonquins. After all these ceremonies the dance came to an end, and the Algonquins, both men and women, carried away their presents to their lodges. They also matched two of the fittest men of each nation, whom they caused to run, and he who was swiftest in the race had a present.

[1] Anadabijou and the Montagnais.

Humeurs des Sauuages.

Tous ces peuples sont tous d'vne humeur assez ioyeuse ; ils rient le plus souuent ; toutefois ils sont quelque peu Saturniens ; Ils parlent fort pozément, comme se voullans bien faire Fol. 8. entendre, & s'arrestent aussi tost en songeant vne grande espace de temps, puis reprennent leur parolle : ils vsent bien souuent de ceste façon de faire parmy leurs harangues au cōseil, où il n'y a que les plus principaux, qui sont les antiens : Les femmes & enfans n'y assistent point. Tous ces peuples patissent tant quelques-fois, qu'ils sont presque contraints de se manger les vns les autres pour les grandes froidures & neiges : car les animaux & gibier dequoy ils viuent se retirent aux pays plus chauts. Ie tiens que qui leur monstreroit à viure & enseigner le labourage des terres, & autres choses, ils l'apprendroient fort bien ; car ie vous asseure qu'il s'en trouue assez qui ont bon iugement, & respondent assez bien à propos sur ce que l'on leur pourroit demander. Ils ont vne

Les Sauuages endurent la faim.

All these people are to a man of a very cheerful disposition, and laugh frequently ; yet they are somewhat phlegmatic. They speak very deliberately, as though they would make themselves well understood, and, stopping suddenly, reflect for a good while, and then begin to speak again. They often conduct themselves in this fashion in the midst of their harangues in council, where there are none but the chief men, who are the elders : the women and children are never present.

All these people sometimes suffer so great extremity, on account of the great cold and snow, that they are almost constrained to eat one another ; for the animals and fowl on which they live migrate to warmer countries. I think that if any one would show them how to live, and teach them to till the ground, and other matters, they would learn very well ; for I assure you that plenty of them have good judgment, and answer very properly any question put to them. They have one evil quality in them, which is, that they are

meschanceté en eux, qui est, vser de vengeance & estre grands menteurs, gens en qui il ne fait pas trop bon s'asseurer, sinon qu'auec raison & la force à la main ; promettent assez & tiennent peu. Ce sont la pluspart gens qui n'ont point de loy, selon que i'ay peu voir, & m'informer audit grand Sagamo,[1] lequel me dit, Qu'ils croyoient veritablement, qu'il y a vn Dieu, qui a creé toutes choses. Et lors ie luy dis, Puis qu'ils croyoient à vn seul Dieu, Commēt est-ce qu'il les auoit mis au monde, & d'où ils estoient venus ? Il me respondit, Apres que Dieu eut fait toutes choses, il print quantité de fleches, & les mit en terre, d'où il sortit hommes & femmes, qui ont multiplié au monde iusques à present, & sont venus de ceste façon. Ie luy respondis que ce qu'il disoit estoit faux : mais que veritablement il y auoit vn seul Dieu, qui auoit creé toutes choses, en la terre, & aux cieux : Voyāt toutes ces choses si parfaites, sans qu'il y eust personne qui

Malice des Sauuages.

Fol. 8v.

Croyance des Sauuages, & leur foy.

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given to revenge, and are great liars, a people in whom it is not well to put confidence, except for good reason, and standing on your guard. They promise much and perform little.

They are for the most part a people that has no law, as far as I could see and learn from the said grand Sagamore,[1] who told me that in truth they believe there is a God, who has made all things. Then I said to him, "Since they believe in one God only, how had He brought them into the world, and whence had they come ?" He answered me, that after God had made all things, He took a number of arrows, and stuck them in the ground, whence He drew men and women, which have multiplied in the world up to the present, and had their origin in this fashion. I replied to him, that what he said was false ; but that in truth there was but one God, who had created all things on earth, and in the heavens. Seeing all these things so perfect, without anybody to govern

[1] Anadabijou.

gouuernast en ce bas monde, il print du limon de la terre, & en crea Adam nostre premier pere: Comme Adam sommeilloit, Dieu print vne cotte dudict Adam, & en forma Eue, qu'il luy donna pour compagnie, & que c'estoit la verité qu'eux & nous estiōs venus de ceste façon, & non de fleches comme ils croyent. Il ne me dit rien, sinon, Qu'il aduoüoit plustost ce que ie luy disois, que ce qu'il me disoit. Ie luy demandis aussi, s'il ne croyoit point qu'il y eut autre qu'vn seul Dieu: Il me dit que leur croyance estoit, Qu'il y auoit vn Dieu, vn Fils, vne Mere, & le Soleil, qui estoiēt quatre; neantmoins que Dieu estoit par dessus tous; mais que le Fils estoit bon & le Soleil, à cause du bien qu'ils receuoiēt: mais la mere ne valloit rien, & les mangeoit, & que le Pere n'estoit pas trop bō. Ie luy remonstray son erreur selō nostre foy, enquoy il adiousta quelque peu de creance. Ie luy demandis s'ils n'auoient point veu ou ouy dire à leurs ancestres que Dieu fust venu au monde. Il me dit, Qu'il ne l'auoit point veu:

Croyent vn Dieu, vn fils, vne mere, & le Soleil.

Fol. 9.

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this world beneath, He took the slime of the earth, and of it created Adam, our first father. While Adam slept, God took a rib of the said Adam, and out of it formed Eve, whom He gave him for his companion; and that it was the truth that they and we had our origin after this manner, and not from arrows as was their belief. He replied nothing, save that he approved rather what I said, than that which he told me. I asked him also, whether he did not believe there was more than one God. He replied that their belief was, that there was one God, one Son, one Mother, and the Sun, which were four; yet that God was above them all; but that the Son and the Sun were good, because of the benefit they received of them, but that the Mother was of no value, and ate them up, and that the Father was not very good. I showed him his error according to our faith, in which he manifested some small belief. I asked him whether they had not seen, or heard their ancestors tell that God had

mais qu'anciennement il y eust cinq hommes qui s'en allerent vers le Soleil couchant, qui rencontrerent Dieu, qui leur demanda : " Où allez vous ? " Ils dirent : " Nous allons chercher nostre vie." Dieu leur respondit : " Vous la trouuerrez icy." Ils passerent plus outre, sans faire estat de ce que Dieu leur auoit dit, lequel print vne pierre, & en toucha deux, qui furent transmuez en pierre: Et dit derechef aux trois autres : " Où allez vous ? " & ils respondirent comme à la premiere fois ; & Dieu leur dit derechef : " Ne passez plus outre : vous la trouuerez icy." Et voyant qu'il ne leur Fol. 9v. venoit rien, ils passerent outre ; & Dieu print deux bastons, & il en toucha les deux premiers, qui furent transmuez en bastons, & le cinquiesme s'arresta, ne voulant passer plus outre : Et Dieu luy demanda derechef : " Où vas-tu ? " " Ie vois chercher ma vie."—" Demeure, & tu la trouueras " : Il demeura sans passer plus outre, & Dieu luy donna de la viande, & en mangea ; Apres auoir faict bonne chere, il re-

De cinq hõmes que les Sauuages croyent auoir veu Dieu.

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come into the world. He told me that he had not seen Him ; but that in old time there were five men who went toward the setting sun and met God, who asked them, " Whither go ye ? " They said, " We go in search of a living." God answered them, " You shall find it here." They went on without regard to what God had said to them : who took a stone, and touched two of them with it, and they were turned into stones. And He said again to the other three, " Whither go ye ? " And they answered as at first : and God said to them again, " Go no further, you shall find it here." And seeing that nothing came to them, they went on : and God took two sticks, and touched the two first with them, and they were turned into sticks ; and the fifth halted and would go no further. And God asked him again, " Whither goest thou ? " " I go in search of my living." " Stay, and thou shalt find it." He stayed without going any further, and God gave him meat, and he ate it ; after he had made good

D'vn autre homme que les Sauuages croyent auoir parlé à Dieu.

tourna auec les autres sauuages, & leur racompta tout ce que dessus. Il me dit aussi, Qu'vne autre fois il y auoit vn homme qui auoit quantité de Tabac, (qui est vne herbe dequoy ils prennent la fumee) & que Dieu vint à cest homme, & luy demanda où estoit son petunoir ; l'homme print son petunoir, & le donna à Dieu, qui petuna beaucoup. Apres auoir bien petuné, Dieu rōpit ledict petunoir en plusieurs pieces, & l'homme luy demanda : "Pourquoy as-tu rompu mon petunoir, & tu vois bien que ie n'en ay point d'autre ?" Et Dieu en print vn qu'il auoit, & le luy donna, luy disant : "En voilà vn que ie te donne, porte le à ton grand Sagamo, qu'il le garde, & s'il le garde bien, il ne manquera point de chose quelconque, ny tous ses compagnons." Ledit homme print le petunoir, qu'il donna à son grand Sagamo, lequel Fol. 10. tandis qu'il l'eut, les Sauuages ne manquerent de rien du monde : Mais que du depuis ledit Sagamo auoit perdu ce

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cheer, he returned among other savages, and told them all the above story.

He told me also, that once upon a time there was a man who had a good supply of tobacco (which is a herb, of which they take the smoke), and that God came to this man, and asked him where was his tobacco-pipe. The man took his tobacco-pipe and gave it to God, who smoked tobacco a great while : after He had smoked enough, God broke the said pipe into many pieces : and the man asked Him, "Why hast Thou broken my pipe ? Surely Thou seest that I have no other." And God took one of His own, and gave it to him, saying to him : "Here is one that I give thee, carry it to thy grand Sagamore ; charge him to keep it, and if he keep it well, he shall never want for anything whatever, nor any of his companions." The man took the pipe, and gave it to his grand Sagamore, and as long as he kept it the savages wanted for nothing in the world ; but afterwards the said Sagamore lost this pipe, and this is the reason of the great

petunoir, qui est l'occasion de la grande famine qu'ils ont quelques-fois parmy eux. Ie luy demandis s'il croioit tout cela. Il me dit qu'ouy, & que c'estoit verité. Or ie croy que voilà pourquoy ils disent que Dieu n'est pas trop bon. Mais ie luy repliquay & luy dis, Que Dieu estoit tout bon, & que sans doubte c'estoit le diable qui s'estoit montré à ces hommes là, & que s'ils croioient comme nous en Dieu, ils ne māqueroient de ce qu'ils auroient besoing; Que le soleil qu'ils voyoient, la Lune & les Estoilles auoient esté crees de ce grand Dieu, qui a faict le ciel & la terre, & n'ont nulle puissance que celle que Dieu leur a donnee; Que nous croyōs en ce grand Dieu, qui par sa bōté nous auoit enuoyé son cher fils, lequel conceu du S. Esprit, print chair humaine dans le ventre virginal de la vierge Marie, ayant esté trente trois ans en terre, faisant vne infinité de miracles, ressuscitant les morts, guerissant les malades, chassant les diables, illuminant les aueugles, enseignant aux hōmes la volonté de Dieu

Fol. 10v.

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famine which sometimes comes among them. I asked him whether he believed all this; and he said yes, and that it was true. Now I believe this is the reason why they say that God is not very good. But I replied and told him, that God was wholly good; and that without doubt it was the Devil who had appeared to those men, and that if they believed in God as we do, they should lack nothing of which they stood in need; that the sun which they beheld, the moon and the stars, had been created by this great God, who made heaven and earth; and that these have no power but that which God has given them; that we believe in this great God, who of His goodness had sent us His dear Son, who, being conceived by the Holy Ghost, became human flesh in the virginal womb of the Virgin Mary, lived thirty-three years on earth, working infinite miracles, raising up the dead, healing the sick, casting out devils, giving sight to the blind, teaching men the will of God His Father, in order to serve, honour,

son Pere, pour le seruir, honnorer, & adorer, a espandu son sang, & souffert mort & passion pour nous & pour nos pechez, & rachepté le genre humain, estant enseuely, est ressuscité, descendu aux enfers, & monté au ciel, où il est assis à la dextre de Dieu son Pere ; Que c'estoit là la croyance de tous les Chrestiens, qui croyent au Pere, au Fils, & au S. Esprit, qui ne sont pourtant trois Dieux, ains vn mesme, & vn seul Dieu, & vne Trinité, en laquelle il n'y a point de plustost ou d'apres, rien de plus grand ne de plus petit ; Que la vierge Marie, mere du fils de Dieu, & tous les hommes & femmes qui ont vescu en ce mōde, faisant les commādemens de Dieu, & enduré martyre pour son nom, & qui par la permission de Dieu ont fait des miracles, & sont saincts au ciel en son Paradis, prient tous pour nous ceste grande Majesté diuine, de nous pardonner nos fautes & nos pechez que nous faisons contre sa loy & ses commandemens ; Et ainsi par les prieres des saincts au ciel, & par nos prieres que nous faisons à sa

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and worship Him ; shed His blood, and suffered death and passion for us and for our sins, and redeemed mankind, and being buried rose again, descended into hell and ascended into heaven, where He sat on the right hand of God His Father. I told him this was the belief of all Christians, who believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which nevertheless are not three Gods, but one same and one sole God, and a Trinity, in which is no before or after, no greater or less ; that the Virgin Mary, the Mother of the Son of God, and all men and women who have lived in this world doing the commandments of God, and have suffered martyrdom for His name's sake, and who by God's permission have wrought miracles, and are saints in heaven in His Paradise, do all pray this great divine Majesty for us, to pardon us our faults and sins which we commit against His law and commandments. And so, by the prayers of the saints in heaven, and by our prayers which we offer to His divine Majesty, He gives us

diuine Majesté, il nous donne ce que nous auons besoing, &
Fol. 11. le diable n'a nulle puissance sur nous : & ne nous peut faire de mal ; Que s'ils auoient ceste croyãce, qu'ils seroient cõme nous, que le diable ne leur pourroit plus faire de mal, & ne manqueroient de ce qu'ils auroient besoing. Alors ledict Sagamo me dit, qu'il aduoüoit ce que ie disois. Ie luy demandis de quelle ceremonie ils vsoient à prier leur Dieu. Il me dist, Qu'ils n'vsoient point autrement de ceremonies, sinon qu'vn chacun prioit en son cœur cõme il vouloit. Voilà pourquoy ie croy qu'il n'y a aucune loy parmy eux, ne sçauẽt que c'est d'adorer & prier Dieu, & viuent la plus part comme bestes brutes, & croy que promptement ils seroient reduicts bons Chrestiens si l'on habitoit leurs terres, ce qu'ils desireroient la plus part. Ils ont parmy eux quelques Sauuages qu'ils appellent Pilotoua,[1] qui parlent au diable visiblement, & leur

Quels Sauuages parlent au diable.

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that which we need, and the Devil has no power over us, and can do us no harm ; that if they had this belief, they should be as we, and the Devil would be unable to do them more harm, and they should lack nothing they required.

Thereupon the said Sagamore told me that he approved what I said. I asked him what ceremony they used in praying to their God. He told me, that they did not make much use of ceremonies, but that every one prayed in his heart as he thought good. This is why I believe they have no law among them, nor know what it is to worship and pray to God, and that most of them live like brute beasts ; and I think they would speedily be brought to be good Christians, if their country were colonised, which most of them would like.

They have among them certain savages whom they call *Pilotoua*,[1] who speak to the Devil face to face and he tells

[1] From the Basque word for sorcerer, according to Father Biard (*Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1616*, in *Jesuit Relations*, &c., ed. Thwaites, iii. 118), so that the Indians, if they really called their medicine-men by that name, must have adopted the word from the Basque sailors who frequented these coasts for fishing purposes. No such word, however, is given in the Abbé de Azkue's Basque-Spanish-French dictionary (Bilbao, 1906).

dit ce qu'il faut qu'ils facent, tant pour la guerre, que pour autres choses, & que s'il leur commandoit qu'ils allassent mettre en execution quelque entreprise, ou tuër vn François, ou vn autre de leur nation, ils obeiroient aussi tost à son commandement. Aussi ils croient que tous les songes qu'ils font sont veritables, & de fait, il y en a beaucoup qui disent Fol. 11v. auoir veu & songé choses qui aduiennent ou aduiendront : Mais pour en parler auec verité, se sont visions du Diable, qui les trompe & seduit : Voilà toute la creance que i'ay peu apprendre d'eux, qui est bestiale. Tous ces peuples ce sont gens bien proportionnez de leurs corps, sans aucune difformité ; ils sont dispos, & les femmes bien formees, remplies & potelees, de couleur basanee, pour la quantité de certaine peinture dōt ils se frotent, qui les fait deuenir olyuastres. Ils sont habillez de peaux ; vne partie de leur corps est couuert & l'autre partie descouuerte : Mais l'hyuer ils remedient à tout, car ils sont habillez de bōnes fourrures,

Sauuages croyent fermement aux songes.

Humeurs des Sauuages.

Habits des Sauuages.

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them what they must do, both in war and in other affairs ; and if he should command them to put into execution any enterprise, either to kill a Frenchman or one of their own nation, they would immediately obey his command.

Moreover they believe that all the dreams they dream are true ; and indeed there are many of them who say that they have seen in dreams things which happen or will happen. But to speak the truth about them, these are visions of the Devil, who deceives and misleads them. This is all their beliefs that I could learn from them, and they are brutish.

All these peoples are well proportioned in body, without any deformity ; they are agile, and the women are well shapen, filled out and plump, of a swarthy colour on account of the profusion of a certain pigment with which they rub themselves, and which gives them an olive hue. They are clad in skins, one part of their bodies is covered, and the other part uncovered. But in winter they provide for the whole body ;

comme d'Orignac, Loutre, Castors, Ours-marins,[1] Cerfs, & Biches, qu'ils ont en quantité. L'hyuer quand les neiges sont grandes, ils font vne maniere de raquette qui est grande deux ou trois fois comme celles de France, qu'ils attachent à leurs pieds, & vont ainsi dans les neiges sans enfoncer, car autrement ils ne pourroient chasser ny aller en beaucoup de lieux. Ils ont aussi vne forme de mariage, qui est, que quand vne fille est en l'aage de 14. ou 15. ans, elle aura plusieurs
Fol. 12. seruiteurs & amys, & aura compagnie auec tous ceux que bon luy semblera ; puis au bout de quelque cinq ou six ans, elle prēdra lequel il luy plaira pour son mary, & viuront ainsi ensemble iusques à la fin de leur vie, si ce n'est qu'apres auoir esté quelque tēps ensemble ils n'ont enfans, l'hōme se pourra desmarier & prendre autre femme, disant, que la

Inuention qu'ils ont pour aller sur les neiges.

Mariage des Sauuages.

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for they are clad with good furs, such as the skins of moose, otter, beavers, bears, seals,[1] stags, and deer, which they have in abundance. In the winter when the snows are heavy they make a kind of racket twice or thrice as big as ours in France, which they fasten to their feet, and so walk on the snow without sinking; for otherwise they could not hunt nor make their way in many places.

They have also a kind of marriage, which is, that when a girl is fourteen or fifteen years old, she may have several suitors and friends, and keep company with all whom she likes: then at the end of some five or six years, she will take which of them she pleases for her husband, and they will live together thus to the end of their lives, unless after they have lived some time together they have no children, when the man may get a divorce and take another wife, saying that his own

[1] "*Ours-marins* is supposed by Otis to refer to a seal, but in his narrative of 1608 Champlain repeats this list and writes *Ours, Loups marins,* showing that *ours-marins* is simply a misprint due to accidental dropping of a word" (Ganong, *op. cit.*, 229).

sienne ne vaut rien, par ainsi les filles sont plus libres que les femmes : Or despuis qu'elles sont mariees, elles sont chastes, & leurs maris sont la plus part ialoux, lesquels donnent des presents au pere ou parens de la fille qu'ils auront espousee. Voilà la ceremonie & façon qu'ils vsent en leurs mariages.

Comme ils enterrẽt leurs morts.

Pour ce qui est de leurs enterremens, quand vn homme ou femme meurt, ils font vne fosse, où ils mettent tout le bien qu'ils auront, comme chaudrons, fourrures, haches, arcs & fleches, robbes, & autres choses, & puis ils mettent le corps dedans la fosse, & le couurent de terre où ils mettent quantité de grosses pieces de bois dessus, & vn bois debout qu'ils peignent de rouge par le haut. Ils croyent l'immortalité des ames, & disent qu'ils vont se resiouïr en d'autres pays auec leur parens & amis quand ils sont morts.[1] Fol. 12v.

Sauuages croyent l'immortalité.

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is worth nothing. Thus the girls are more free than the married women ; but after they are married they are chaste, and their husbands for the most part are jealous, and these give presents to the father or kindred of the girl whom they have married. This is the ceremony and manner of their conduct in their marriages.

Touching their burials, when a man or woman dies, they make a pit, in which they put all the goods they have, such as kettles, furs, hatchets, bows and arrows, robes and other things, and then they place the body in the pit, and cover it with earth, and lay on top a great many large pieces of wood, and one stake they set up on end and paint it red on the upper part. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and say that when they die they go into other lands to make merry with their kindred and friends.[1]

[1] For later accounts of Indian manners and customs, see Le Clercq's *New Relation of Gaspesia*, edited and translated by W. F. Ganong for the Champlain Society, and Lewis H. Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* (New York, 1904).

Riuiere du Saguenay & son origine.

CHAP. IIII.

LE 11. iour de Iuin ie fus à quelque douze ou quinze lieuës dans le Saguenay, qui est vne belle riuiere, & a vne profondeur incroyable ; car ie croy, selon que i'ay entendu deuiser d'où elle procede, que c'est d'vn lieu fort haut, d'où descēd[a] vn torent d'eau d'vne grande impetuosité ; mais l'eau qui en procede n'est point capable de faire vn tel fleuue comme cestuy-là,[1] qui neantmoins ne tient que depuis cedict torrēt d'eau, où est le premier sault, iusques au port de Tadousac, qui est l'entree de ladicte

Partement de Tadousac pour aller au Saguenay.

Torrēt d'eau.

[a] 1604. L'édition de 1603 porte, *d'où il descēd.*

CHAPTER IV

The River Saguenay and its source.

ON the eleventh day of June, I went some twelve or fifteen leagues up the Saguenay, which is a fine river, and of incredible depth ; for, according to what I have heard related of its source, I think that it comes from a very high place whence a torrent of water descends with great violence : but the water from that source is not sufficient to make such a river as this ;[1] which nevertheless extends only from this torrent of water (where is the first fall) to the harbour of Tadoussac, which is the mouth of the said

[1] The Saguenay river in its lower portion is a fiord rather than a river ; its depth and breadth have therefore no relation to the discharge of fresh water into it, either from lake St. John or at Chicoutimi. Champlain apparently considers the headwaters of the river to be the discharge from lake St. John, as the distance named—forty-five to fifty leagues—corresponds much more nearly to the distance from lake St. John to Tadoussac (112 miles) than to the distance from Chicoutimi to Tadoussac, seventy-one miles.

riuiere du Saguenay, où il y a quelque 45. ou 50. lieuës, & vne bonne lieuë & demye de large au plus, & vn quart au plus estroit ; qui fait qu'il y a grand courant d'eau. Toute la terre que i'ay veu, ce ne sont que mōtaignes de rochers la pluspart couuertes de bois de sapins, cyprez, & boulles, terre fort malplaisante, où ie n'ay point trouué vne lieuë de terre plaine tant d'vn costé que d'autre. Il y a quelques montaignes de sable & isles en ladite riuiere qui sont hautes esleuees. En fin ce sont de vrais deserts inhabitables d'animaux, & d'oyseaux ; car ie vous asseure qu'allant chasser par les lieux qui me sembloient les plus plaisants, ie ne trouuay rien qui soit, sinō de petits oyseaux qui sont comme rossignols,[1] & airōdelles, lesquelles viennent en Esté ; car autrement ie croy qu'il n'y en a point, à cause de l'excessif froid qu'il y fait, ceste riuiere venant de deuers le Norouest. Ils me feirēt rapport, qu'ayāt passé le

Terres montagnes de rochers malplaisantes.

Fol. 13.

Saguenay river, a distance of some forty-five or fifty leagues, and it is a good league and a half broad at the most, and a quarter of a league where it is narrowest, which makes a great flow of water. The whole region so far as I saw was nothing but rocky mountains, the most part covered with fir, cypress, and birch, a most unpleasant land, where, neither on the one side nor on the other, did I find a league of meadow-land. There are certain sandy hills and islands in the said river, which stand high above the water. In short, these are very deserts, unfit for animals or birds ; for I assure you, as I went hunting through places which seemed to me the most attractive, I found nothing at all but small birds, like nightingales [1] and swallows, which come in the summer ; for at other times I think there are none, because of the excessive cold there, this river coming from the north-west.

They reported to me, that having passed the first

[1] The song-sparrow (*Melospiza melodia* (Wils.) Baird), which is still denominated *rossignol* by the French-Canadians (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

premier saut,[1] d'où viēt ce torrēt d'eau, ils passent huict autres sauts, & puis vont vne iournee sans en trouuer aucun, puis passent autres dix sauts, & viennent dedās vn lac,[2] où ils sont deux iours à rapasser; en chasque iour ils peuuent faire à leur aise quelque douze à quinze lieuës; audit bout du lac, il y a des peuples qui sont cabannez,[3] puis on entre dans trois autres riuieres,[4] quelques trois ou quatre iournees dās chacune, où au bout desdites riuieres, il y a deux ou trois manieres de lacs, d'où prēd la source du Saguenay,[5] de laquelle source iusques audit port de Fol. 13v. Tadousac, il y a dix iournees de leurs Canos. Au bord desdites riuieres, il y a quantité de cabannes, où il vient d'autres

Rapport que l'on m'a faict du commencement de la riuiere du Saguenay.

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fall,[1] whence comes this torrent of water, they pass eight others and then they travel one day's journey without finding any; then they pass ten other rapids, and enter a lake, which they take two days to cross;[2] each day they can make easily twelve or fifteen leagues. At the end of the lake are people encamped;[3] then they enter three other rivers,[4] [making] three or four days' journey in each; where at the end of these rivers are two or three bodies of water, like lakes, whence the Saguenay takes its rise:[5] from which headwaters to the said harbour of Tadoussac is a journey of ten days in their canoes. On the banks of the said rivers are many lodges, where other tribes come from the north, to

[1] The route described to Champlain by the Indians is that which leaves the Saguenay at Chicoutimi and follows the river Chicoutimi, lake Kenogami, and Belle rivière to lake St. John (Laverdière, *op. cit.*).

[2] Lake St. John.

[3] The Porcupine Indians probably inhabited the shores of lake St. John at this time (Laverdière, *op. cit.*).

[4] The Ashuapmuchuan, Mistassini, and Peribonka rivers all flow from the north into lake St. John, of which the first named is the most important. There may have been a travelled route up this river and through a series of lakes over the height of land into lake Mistassini, from which Hudson Bay could be reached.

[5] These lakes are clearly the small headwater lakes of the rivière du Chef, or possibly of the Etchipotchi or Mistassini river.

nations du costé du Nort, troquer auec lesdits Montagnez des peaux de castor & martre, auec autres marchandises que donnent les vaisseaux François ausdicts Montaignez. Lesdicts Sauuages du Nort disent, qu'ils voyent vne mer qui est salee. Ie tiens que si cela est, que c'est quelque gouffre de ceste mer qui desgorge par la partie du Nort dans les terres,[1] & de verité il ne peut estre autre chose. Voilà ce que i'ay apprins de la riuiere du Saguenay.

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barter beaver and marten skins with the Montagnais for other merchandise, which the French ships bring to the said Montagnais. These said savages from the north say that they are in sight of a sea which is salt. I hold that, if this be so, it is some gulf of this our sea, which overflows in the north into the midst of the continent;[1] and indeed it can be nothing else. This is what I have learned of the river Saguenay.

[1] Hudson Bay. It is remarkable that Champlain should have judged it so accurately in view of his desire to find the Pacific at the end of some of these huge waterways.

Partement de Tadousac pour aller au Sault, la description des isles du Lieure, du Coudre, d'Orleans, & de plusieurs autres isles, & de nostre arriuee à Quebec.

CHAP. V.

LE Mercredy, dixhuictiesme iour de Iuin, nous partismes de Tadousac, pour aller au Sault.[1] Nous passasmes pres d'vne isle qui s'appelle l'isle au Lieure,[2] qui peut estre à deux lieuës de la terre de la bande du Nort, & à quelques sept lieuës dudit Tadousac, & à cinq lieues de la terre du Su. De l'isle au Lieure nous rengeasmes la coste du Nort, enuiron demie lieüe,[3] iusques à

Isle au Lieure.

Fol. 14.

CHAPTER V

Departure from Tadoussac to go to the Rapid; description of Hare Island, Coudres Island, Island of Orleans and many other islands, and of our arrival at Quebec.

ON Wednesday the eighteenth day of June, we set out from Tadoussac, to go to the Rapid.[1] We passed near an island, called Hare island,[2] which may be about two leagues from the mainland on the north side, and some seven leagues from Tadoussac, and five leagues from the south shore.

From Hare island we followed the north shore about half a league, as far as a point[3] which runs out into the river,

[1] This was the sault de Saint Louis, or Lachine rapid, about three leagues above Montreal.

[2] Hare island (isle aux Lièvres), so named by Cartier from the number of hares which he found there. The distances are overestimated; from Hare island to the northern shore is four miles, and to the southern shore, seven.

[3] There is a great confusion here in the distances, due perhaps to misprints or misreadings of the original manuscript. The nearest point to Hare island on the north shore going up stream is cape Salmon, five or six miles from it and nearly thirty from Coudres island; but Goose cape (cap aux Oies), thirty miles from Hare island and five miles from Coudres island,

vne pointe qui aduance à la mer, où il faut prendre plus au large : Ladite pointe est à vne lieüe d'vne isle qui s'appelle l'isle au Coudre,[1] qui peut tenir enuiron deux lieües de large, & de ladite isle à la terre du Nort, il y a vne lieüe ; ladite isle est quelque peu vnie, venant en amoindrissant par les deux bouts ;[2] au bout de l'Oüest il y a des prairies[3] & pointes de rochers qui aduancent quelque peu dans la riuiere ; ladite isle est quelque peu aggreable pour les bois qui l'enuironnent ; il y a force ardoise, & la terre quelque peu graueleuse ; au bout de laquelle il y a vn rocher qui aduance à la mer enuiron demie lieue. Nous passasmes au Nort de ladite isle, distante de l'isle au Lieure de 12. lieues. Le Ieudy ensuiuant nous en partismes, & vinsmes mouiller l'ancre à vne anse dangereuse

Isle au Coudre.

Anse dangereuse.

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where one must keep farther off. The said point is a league from the island called Coudres island,[1] which may be about two leagues in width ; and from this said island to the north shore is a league. The said [Coudres] island is somewhat flat, and comes to a point at either end ;[2] at the west end are meadows[3] and rocky points which stretch out somewhat into the river. This island is somewhat pleasant, because of the woods which surround it. There is much slate, and the soil is somewhat gravelly : at the extremity is a rock which extends into the sea about half a league. We passed to the north of this island, distant from Hare island twelve leagues.

The Thursday following we set out from there, and came

is evidently the cape meant : for the channel is clear to that point. As Laverdière suggests, the words *demye lieue* (half a league) are perhaps a printer's error for *dix* or *douze lieues*, which would then require the translation of the first sentence to read : "From Hare island we kept along the north shore for ten (or twelve) leagues." The estimated distance of Goose cape from Coudres island as one league instead of one and a half is no wider of the mark than many of Champlain's conjectures of distance.

[1] Coudres, meaning Hazel, island, has always retained the name given to it by Cartier.

[2] Coudres island has an average width of two miles.

[3] The western part of the island is still called *Les Prairies* (Laverdière, *op. cit.*).

du costé du Nort, où il y a quelques prairies, & vne petite riuiere,[1] où les Sauuages cabannent quelque-fois. Cedit iour rengeant tousiours ladicte coste du Nort, iusques à vn lieu où
Fol. 14v. nous relaschasmes pour les vents qui nous estoiēt contraires, où il y auoit force rochers & lieux fort dangereux,[2] nous feusmes trois iours en attendant le beau temps : Toute ceste coste n'est que montaignes tant du costé du Su, que du costé du Nort, la plus part ressemblant à celle du Saguenay. Le Dimanche, vingt-deuxiesme iour dudict mois, nous en partismes pour aller à l'isle d'Orleans,[3] où il y a quātité d'isles à la bande du Su,[4] lesquelles sont basses & couuertes d'arbres, semblans estre fort aggreables, contenans, (selon que i'ay peu iuger) les vnes deux lieues, & vne lieue, & autre demie : Autour de ces isles ce ne sont que rochers & basses, fort dan-

Coste dangereuse.

Isles belles & dangereuses.

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to anchor at a dangerous cove on the north shore, where are some meadows, and a little river [1] alongside which the savages sometimes encamp. That day we continued to skirt the north shore, as far as a place where we put in on account of the winds which were contrary, where were many rocks and very dangerous places : [2] here we stayed three days waiting for fair weather. All this coast is nothing but mountains both on the south side and on the north, most of it like the Saguenay coast.

On Sunday, the twenty-second day of the month, we set out to go to the island of Orleans.[3] On the way there are many islands along the south shore,[4] which are low and covered with trees, very pretty in appearance, and in circumference (as well as I was able to judge) some two leagues, some one league, and others half a league. About these islands is nothing but rocks and shallows, very dangerous to pass ; and they are

[1] Probably about six miles from Coudres island, where there is a small stream which still bears the name of *La Petite Rivière*.

[2] Perhaps near hâvre à la Gribanne opposite Cape Brûlé shoals.

[3] So named by Cartier after a son of Francis I, later Henri II.

[4] Isle Riaux, Grosse isle, isle Patience, &c. &c.

gereux à passer, & sont esloignez quelques deux lieues de la
Isle d'Orleãs. grãd'terre du Su. Et de là vinsmes renger à l'isle d'Orleans du costé du Su : Elle est à vne lieue de la terre du Nort, fort plaisante & vnie, contenãt de long huict lieues.[1] Le costé de la terre du Su est terre basse, quelques deux lieues auant en terre ; lesdites terres commencent à estre basses à l'endroit de ladite isle, qui prend [a] estre à deux lieues de la terre du Su. A passer du costé du Nort, il y faict fort dangereux pour les bancs de sable, rochers qui sont entre ladicte isle & la grand'terre, & asseche presque toute de basse Fol. 15.
Torrẽt d'eau. mer. Au bout de ladicte isle ie vis vn torrent d'eau[2] qui desbordoit de dessus vne grande mõtaigne de ladicte riuiere de Canadas, & dessus ladite montaigne est terre vnie & plaisante à voir, bien que dedans lesdites terres l'on voit de hautes

[a] Il faut sans doute lire, *peut*.

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distant some two leagues from the mainland on the south. And from there we skirted the island of Orleans on the south side. It is a league from the north shore, very pretty and level, extending eight leagues in length.[1] The shore of the land on the south is low for some two leagues inland : the country begins to be low at this island, which may be two leagues from the mainland on the south. It is very dangerous to pass on the north side on account of the sandbanks and rocks, which lie between this island and the mainland, and it is almost all dry at low water.

At the end of the said island I saw a torrent of water,[2] falling from the top of a great mountain along the said river of Canada, and on the top of the mountain the ground is level and pleasant to look at, although in the interior of the

[1] The length of the island of Orleans is overstated. It is eighteen (not twenty-four) miles in length, and the distance from the south shore is two miles, not two leagues.

[2] Montmorency Fall, so named by Champlain himself in honour of Charles de Montmorency, to whom this voyage is dedicated. The height of the fall is 265 feet, and it is 150 wide.

montaignes qui peuuent estre à quelques 20. ou 25. lieuës dans les terres,[1] qui sont proches du premier sault du Saguenay. Nous vinsmes moüiller l'ancre à Quebec[2] qui est vn destroit de ladicte riuiere de Canadas, qui a quelque 300. pas de large : il y a à ce destroit du costé du Nort vne montaigne assez haute qui va en abbaissant des deux costez ; tout le reste est pays vny & beau, où il y a de bonnes terres pleines d'arbres, comme chesnes, cyprez, boulles, sapins, & trembles, & autres arbres fruictiers, sauuages, & vignes : qui fait qu'à mon opinion, si elles estoient cultiuees, elles seroient bonnes comme les nostres. Il y a le long de la coste dudit Quebec des diamans dans des rochers d'ardoise, qui sont

Montaignes que l'on void estre loing.

Description de Quebec.

Des diamans que l'on trouue à Quebec.

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country one sees high mountains which may be distant some twenty or twenty-five leagues towards the interior,[1] and are near the first fall of the Saguenay.

We came to anchor at Quebec,[2] which is a narrow part of the said river of Canada, some three hundred paces broad. At these narrows on the north side is a very high mountain, which slopes down on both sides : all the rest is a level and beautiful country, where there is good land covered with trees, such as oaks, cypresses, birches, fir-trees and aspens, and also wild fruit-bearing trees, and vines ; so that in my opinion, if this soil were tilled, it would be as good as ours. Along the shore of the said Quebec are diamonds in the slate

[1] The Laurentides, which are such a striking feature in the view down the St. Lawrence from Quebec, do as a matter of fact extend to the Saguenay, but those visible are not as far off as Champlain states (Laverdière, *op. cit.*).

[2] The text clearly indicates that the word was applied to the river itself, not to the headland, and therefore the fanciful derivation from *quel bec !*—the exclamation of some sailor—is out of the question. The Indian word, which signifies a contraction or narrowing, is given in Rand's Micmac dictionary (Halifax, 1888) as *kĕbĕc*, meaning narrows in a river. The breadth of the St. Lawrence here is underestimated. It is actually about 800 feet, not 300 yards. The Indian village near by, which Cartier called Stadacona, seems to have disappeared before Champlain's arrival.

meilleurs que ceux d'Alançon.[1] Dudict Quebec iusques à l'isle au Coudre, il y a 29. lieuës.[2]

De la pointe Saincte Croix, de la riuiere de Batiscan, des Riuieres, rochers, isles, terres, arbres, fruicts, vignes, & beaux pays, qui sont depuis Quebec iusques aux trois Riuieres. Fol. 15v.

CHAP. VI.

Du païs qui est entre Quebec et Saincte Croix.

LE Lundy 23. dudict mois nous partismes de Quebec, où la riuiere commence à s'eslargir quelques-fois d'vne lieüe, puis de lieüe & demye ou deux lieües au plus. Le pays va de plus en plus en embellissāt ; ce sont toutes terres basses, sans rochers, que fort peu. Le costé du Nort est remply de rochers & bancs de sable ; il faut prendre celuy du Su, comme d'vne demie lieüe de terre. Il y a quelques

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rocks which are better than those of Alençon.[1] From Quebec to Coudres island is twenty-nine leagues.[2]

CHAPTER VI

Of Point Ste. Croix ; of the River Batiscan ; of the rivers, rocks, islands, soils, trees, fruits, vines, and fine regions from Quebec as far as Three Rivers.

ON Monday, the twenty-third of the month, we set out from Quebec, where the river begins to broaden, sometimes to one league, then again to a league and a half or two leagues at most. The country grows finer and finer ; it is all low ground, without rocks, or with very few. The north shore abounds in rocks and sand-banks : you must take the south side, about half a league from the shore. There

[1] Diamonds of Alençon were rock-crystal, and extensively used as jewellery at this period. Cartier also notes the rock-crystal in this neighbourhood. (See Baxter's *Memoir of Jacques Cartier*, 226, note. New York, 1906.)

[2] Again an overestimate. The actual distance is about fifty-five miles, or eighteen leagues.

petites riuieres qui ne sont point nauigables, si ce n'est pour les Canos des Sauuages, ausquelles il y a quantité de saults.[1] Nous vinsmes mouiller l'ancre iusques à saincte Croix,[2] distante de Quebec de 15. lieües ; c'est vne pointe basse qui va en haussant des deux costez. Le pays est beau & vny, & les terres meilleures qu'en lieu que i'eusse veu, auec quātité de bois : mais fort peu de sapins & cyprez : il s'y trouue en quantité des vignes, poires,[3] noysettes, serizes, groizelles, rouges & vertes,[4] & de certaines petites racines[5] de la grosseur d'vne petite nois, ressemblant au goust comme treffes,[a] qui sont tres-bonnes roties & bouillies. Toute ceste terre est noire, sans aucuns rochers, sinon qu'il y a grande quantité

Poincte de Saincte Croix.

Fol. 16.

[a] *Sic.*

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are some small rivers, not navigable except for the canoes of the savages, and in which are many rapids.[1] We came to anchor at Ste. Croix,[2] distant from Quebec fifteen leagues ; it is a low point, rising up on both sides. The country is fine and level, and the soil better than in any place I had seen, with extensive woods, but very few fir-trees and cypresses. In these parts are found quantities of grapes, pears,[3] hazel-nuts, cherries, red and green currants,[4] and certain small roots,[5] the size of a small nut, tasting like truffles, which are very good roasted or boiled. It is all black soil, without any rocks, except that there is a good deal of slate : the soil is

[1] The south shore is clear as far as Ste. Croix. The rivers on the north shore are Cap Rouge and Jacques Cartier, and on the south shore Etchemin, Chaudière, Gaspé, and Grosse rivers.

[2] Ste. Croix is five miles below Pointe-Platon, and some thirty miles from Quebec. Pointe-Platon is as Champlain describes it.

[3] Pears do not occur wild in eastern Canada. Probably the fruit of the shadbush (*Amelanchier canadensis* (Linn.) Medic.) is meant. It is in some places called " swamp sugar pear " (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[4] Probably the wild red currant (*Ribes triste* Pall.) and the wild gooseberry (*Ribes oxyacanthoides* Linn.) respectively (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[5] The ground nut or Indian potato (*Apios tuberosa* Moench.) (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

d'ardoise : elle est fort tendre, & si elle estoit bien cultiuee, elle seroit de bon rapport. Du costé du Nort il y a vne riuiere qui s'appelle Batiscan,[1] qui va fort auāt en terre, par où quelques-fois les Algoumequins viennent : & vne autre du mesme costé à trois lieües dudit saincte Croix sur le chemin de Quebec, qui est celle où fut Jacques Quartier au cōmencement de la descouuerture qu'il en fit, & ne passa point plus outre.[2] Ladite riuiere est plaisante, & va assez auant dans les terres. Tout ce costé du Nort est fort vny & agreable.

Riuiere qui s'appelle Batiscan.

Le Mercredy, 24. iour [3] dudit mois, nous partismes dudict saincte Croix, où nous retardasmes vne maree & demye, pour le lendemain pouuoir passer de iour, à cause de la grande quantité de rochers qui sont au trauers de ladicte riuiere,

Rochers dãgereux.

very soft, and if it were well tilled would yield great increase.

On the north side is a river called Batiscan,[1] which extends far into the interior, down which the Algonquins sometimes come : and there is another on the same side three leagues from the said Ste. Croix, on the way from Quebec, which is that which Jacques Cartier reached in the beginning of his explorations, and he ascended no farther.[2] The said river is pleasant, and goes far up into the interior. All this north shore is very level and pretty.

On Wednesday,[3] the twenty-fourth day of the month, we set out from the said Ste. Croix, where we had stayed a tide and a half, that we might be able the following day to pass on by daylight, because of the great number of rocks in the

[1] The river Batiscan empties into the St. Lawrence about twenty-five miles west of Pointe-Platon, and higher up than the river Ste. Anne mentioned below.

[2] River Jacques Cartier, the mouth of which lies directly opposite Ste. Croix. Champlain had not seen the reports of Cartier's voyage as far as Montreal, or he would not have made this misstatement. Later, he correctly identified Cartier's Ste. Croix with the St. Charles river at Quebec. *Cf.* Lescarbot, *Histoire*, ii. 111 (Champlain Society's edition).

[3] An error for Tuesday, as the succeeding paragraphs show.

Fol. 16v. (chose estrange à voir) qui asseche presque toute de basse mer : Mais à demy flot, l'on peut commencer à passer librement ; toutesfois il faut y prendre bien garde auec la sonde à la main.[1] La mer y croist pres de 3. brasses & demie. Plus nous allions en auant & plus le pays est beau : nous fusmes à quelques 5. lieües & demye mouiller l'ancre à la bande du Nort. Le Mercredy ensuyuant nous partismes de cedict lieu, qui est pays plus plat que celuy de deuant, plein de grande quantité d'arbres comme à saincte Croix. Nous passames pres d'vne petite isle, qui estoit remplie de vignes,[2] & vinsmes mouiller l'ancre, à la bande du Su, pres d'vn petit costau :[3] mais estãt dessus, ce sont terres vnies. Il y a vne autre petite isle[4] à 3. lieües de saincte Croix, proche de la

Beau pays.

Isle remplie de vignes.

Autre petite isle.

channel of the river which, a peculiar sight, are left almost dry at low water. But at half flood, one may begin to pass freely ; yet with great heed, and lead in hand.[1] The tide rises here almost three fathoms and a half.

The farther we went, the finer was the country. We proceeded some five leagues and a half, and anchored on the north shore. On Wednesday following we set out from this place, which is a flatter country than that lower down, and as heavily wooded as at Ste. Croix. We passed close to a small island, covered with vines,[2] and came to anchor on the south side near a little hill :[3] but on ascending it found the country level. There is another small island three leagues from Ste. Croix, near the south shore.[4] On the following

[1] *The St. Lawrence Pilot,* 7th edition, 1906, 627 : "Richelieu rapid commences just above Portneuf [opposite Pointe-Platon] and extends a distance of about seven miles. In the narrowest part of the rapid the channel runs between extensive shoals formed of boulders, and is only 460 yards wide at low water."

[2] Perhaps Ilet Mayrond, opposite Lotbinière, as there is none other between Richelieu rapid and the river Ste. Anne.

[3] Perhaps St. Jean des Chaillons, 125 feet high.

[4] Richelieu island, just above Pointe-Platon at the entrance of the Richelieu rapid. According to Laverdière it was called Ste. Croix up to 1633.

terre du Su. Nous partismes le Ieudy ensuyuant dudict costau, & passasmes pres d'vne petite isle, qui est proche de la bande du Nort,[1] où ie fus, à quelques six petites riuieres, dont il y en a deux qui peuuēt porter bateaux assez auant, & vne autre qui a quelque 300. pas de large. A son entrée il y a quelques isles ; elle va fort auant dans terre, c'est la plus creuse de toutes les autres, lesquelles sont fort plaisantes à voir, les terres estāt pleines d'arbres qui ressemblent à des noyers, & en ont la mesme odeur, mais ie n'y ay point veu de fruict, ce qui me met en doubte. Les Sauuages m'ont dict, qu'il porte son fruict[a] comme les nostres.

De deux riuieres auec d'autres petites.

Arbres semblants à noyers.

Fol. 17.

Isle sainct Eloy.

Passant plus outre, nous rencontrasmes vne isle, qui s'appelle sainct Eloy,[2] & vne autre petit[e] isle, laquelle est tout proche de la terre du Nort. Nous passasmes entre ladite isle & ladite terre du Nort, où il y a de l'vn à l'autre

[a] 1604, *qu'ils portent leurs fruicts.*

Thursday we set out from this highland, and passed close to a small island, near the north shore,[1] where I landed, in the neighbourhood of some six small rivers, two of which are navigable for boats far up-stream, and another is some three hundred paces broad ; at its mouth are some islands ; it extends very far into the interior, and is deeper than all the rest. These rivers are very pleasing in appearance, the landscape being covered with trees resembling walnut-trees, and having the same smell : but I saw no fruit, which makes me doubtful. The savages told me they bear fruit like ours.

Passing on we came to an island, called St. Eloi,[2] and another small island, which is quite close to the north shore. We passed between this island and the said north shore, where the distance from one to the other is some hundred

[1] Ile du Large, at the mouth of the river Ste. Anne, which enters the St. Lawrence in several mouths, forming the islands à la Batture, Ste. Marguerite, St. Ignace, and des Pins. The river Ste. Anne is about three miles below the Batiscan river already mentioned.

[2] An inconsiderable island just opposite the church at Batiscan. It is no longer so called, but the channel separating it from the shore is still known by the name of St. Eloi (Laverdière, *op. cit.*).

quelque cent cinquante pas, De ladite isle iusques à la bāde du Su vne lieuë & demie passasmes proche d'vne riuiere, où peuuent aller les Canos.[1] Toute ceste coste du Nort est assez bonne; l'on y peut aller librement, neantmoins la sonde à la main, pour euiter certaines pointes. Toute ceste coste que nous rengeasmes est sable mouuāt, mais entrant quelque peu dans les bois, la terre est bonne.

D'vne autre petite riuiere.

Coste sablonneuse.

Le Vendredy ensuiuant nous partismes de ceste isle,[2] costoyant tousiours la bande du Nort tout proche terre, qui est basse, & pleine de tous bons arbres, & en quantité, iusques aux trois Riuieres, où il commēce d'y auoir temperature de Fol. 17'. tēps, quelque peu dissemblable à celuy de saincte Croix, d'autant que les arbres y sont plus aduancez qu'en aucun lieu que i'eusse encores veu. Des trois riuieres iusques à saincte Croix il y a quinze lieuës.[3] En ceste riuiere il y a six isles, trois desquelles sont fort petites, & les autres de quelque cinq

Des Trois Riuieres.

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and fifty paces. From this island to the south shore is a league and a half. We passed near a river, up which canoes may proceed.[1] All this north shore is very good; one may pass freely there, yet with the lead in hand, to avoid certain points. All this shore which we followed is shifting sand; but after penetrating a little way into the woods, the soil is good.

On Friday following we set out from this island,[2] still coasting the north shore quite near the land, which is low and covered with all sorts of good trees, and in great number, as far as Three Rivers, where the climate begins to be somewhat different from that at Ste. Croix: inasmuch as the trees are more forward there than in any place I had hitherto seen. From Three Rivers to Ste. Croix is fifteen leagues.[3] In this river are six islands, three of which are very small, and the

[1] River Champlain. [2] St. Eloi.

[3] The distance from Ste. Croix to Three Rivers is about sixty miles. The St. Maurice river, which here enters the St. Lawrence, is divided at its mouth into several channels by islands, hence the name Three Rivers.

D'vne isle qui est propre à habiter.

à six cens pas de long, fort plaisantes & fertilles, pour le peu qu'elles contiennent.[1] Il y en a vne au milieu de ladite riuiere qui regarde le passage de celle de Canadas, & commande aux autres esloignees de la terre, tant d'vn costé que d'autre de quatre à cinq cens pas : Elle est esleuee du costé du Su, & va quelque peu en baissant du costé du Nort : Ce seroit à mō iugement vn lieu propre pour habiter, & pourroit-on le fortifier prōptement, car sa situatiō est forte de soy, & proche d'vn grand lac [2] qui n'en est qu'à quelque quatre lieuës, lequel presque ioinct la riuiere du Saguenay,[3] selon le rapport des Sauuages qui vont pres de cent lieuës au Nort, & passent nombre de saults, puis vont par terre quelque cinq ou six lieues, & entrent dedans vn lac,[4] d'où ledit Saguenay prend la meilleure part de sa source, & lesdits Sauuages

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others some five to six hundred paces long, very pleasant and fertile considering their small extent.[1] There is one in the middle of the said river, opposite the channel of the river of Canada, and commanding the others which lie four or five hundred paces distant from the shore on either side. It is high on the south side, and falls somewhat toward the north side. In my judgment this would be a place suitable for settlement, and might be quickly fortified ; for the situation is strong of itself, and near a large lake,[2] not more than some four leagues distant. It almost connects with the Saguenay river,[3] according to the report of the Indians, who travel nearly a hundred leagues northward, and pass many rapids, then go by land some five or six leagues, and enter a lake,[4] whence the said Saguenay takes the best part of its source ;

[1] These are Ogden, St. Joseph, St. Christophe, Caron, La Potherie, and St. Quentin, the latter, also called Cochon island (île aux Cochons), being the one referred to by Champlain.

[2] Lake St. Peter.

[3] An eastern branch of the St. Maurice river named Croche river rises in a small lake, from which lake St. John may be reached by a portage of about fifteen miles (Slafter, *op. cit.*).

[4] Lake St. John.

viennent dudit lac à Tadousac. Aussi que l'habitation des
Fol. 18. trois Riuieres seroit vn bien pour la liberté de quelques
natiōs qui n'osent venir par là, à cause desdits Irocois, leurs
ennemis, qui tiennent toute ladite riuiere de Canadas bordee :
mais estant habité, on pourroit rendre lesdits Irocois &
autres Sauuages amis, où à tout le moins sous la faueur de
ladite habituation, lesdits Sauuages viendroient librement
sans crainte & dāger : d'autant que ledit lieu des trois riuieres
est vn passage. Toute la terre que ie veis à la terre du Nort est
sablonneuse. Nous entrasmes enuiron vne lieue dans ladite
riuiere,[1] & ne peusmes passer plus outre, à cause du grand
courant d'eau. Auec vn esquif nous feusmes pour voir plus
auāt, mais nous ne feismes pas plus d'vne lieuë, que nous
rencontrasmes vn sault d'eau fort estroit, comme de douze
pas, ce qui fut occasion que nous ne peusmes passer plus
outre. Toute la terre que ie veis aux bords de ladite riuiere

Le bien que pourroit apporter l'habituation des trois Riuieres.

Grād cours d'eau.

D'vn petit sault d'eau.

Terre allant en haussant.

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and from the said lake the said Indians come to Tadoussac. Moreover, a settlement at Three Rivers would be a boon for the freedom of some tribes who dare not come that way for fear of their enemies, the said Iroquois, who infest the banks all along the said river of Canada ; but if this river were inhabited we might make friends with the Iroquois and with the other savages, or at the very least under protection of the said settlement the said savages might come freely without fear or danger, inasmuch as the said Three Rivers is a place of passage. All the soil that I saw on the north shore is sandy. We went up the said river [1] about a league, and could proceed no farther, on account of the strong current. With a skiff we went to explore higher up, but had not gone more than a league before we encountered a very narrow rapid, about twelve paces wide, on account of which we could proceed no farther. All the land I saw on the banks of the

[1] St. Maurice.

va en haussant de plus en plus, qui est remplie de quantitez de sapins & cyprez, & fort peu d'autres arbres.

Longueur, largeur, & profondeur d'vn lac, & des riuieres qui entrent dedans, des isles qui y sont, quelles terres l'on void dans le païs, de la riuiere des Irocois, & de la forteresse des Sauuages qui leur font la guerre. Fol. 18v.

CHAP. VII.

LE Samedy ensuyuant nous partismes des trois Riuieres & vinsmes mouiller l'ancre à vn lac[1] où il y a quatre lieuës. Tout ce pays depuis les trois riuieres iusques à l'entree dudict lac, est terre à fleur d'eau ; & du costé du Su quelque peu plus haute. Ladicte terre est

Terres basses.

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said river rises more and more, and is covered with numbers of fir and cypress-trees, and very few other trees.

CHAPTER VII

Length, breadth, and depth of a lake ; and of the rivers that flow into it ; of the islands in it ; what land one sees in the country ; of the river of the Iroquois ; and of the stronghold of the savages who wage war on them.

ON the Saturday following, we set out from Three Rivers, and anchored at a lake four leagues distant.[1] All this region from Three Rivers to the entrance of the said lake is low ground, level with the water, but on the south side somewhat higher. The land is very good, and

[1] Lake St. Peter. The day on which they entered the lake, June 29, is St. Peter's day, and for this reason no doubt it subsequently received this name, although Cartier called it lake Angoulême (Laverdière, *op. cit.*). The lake is about twenty miles long and seven wide. Champlain's distances here are extraordinarily inaccurate. Perhaps the flatness of the shores led him to overestimate their remoteness.

tres-bonne & la plus plaisante que nous eussions encores veüe ; les bois y sont assez clairs, qui fait que l'on y pourroit trauerser aisement. Le lendemain 29. de Iuin nous entrasmes dans le lac, qui a quelque 15. lieües de lōg, & quelque 7. ou 8. lieües de large : à son entree du costé du Su enuiron vne lieue, il y a vne riuiere[1] qui est assez grande, & va dans les terres quelques 60. ou 80. lieües, & continuāt du mesme costé il y a vne autre petite riuiere qui entre enuiron deux lieües en terre, & sort de dedans vn autre petit lac[2] qui peut contenir quelque trois ou quatre lieües. Du costé du Nort, où la terre y paroist fort haute, on void iusques à quelques vingt lieües, mais peu à peu les montaignes viennent en diminuant vers l'Oüest comme pays plat : les Sauuages disent que la plus part de ces montagnes sont mauuaises terres.

D'vn lac.

Fol. 19.

Terres qui paroissent fort hautes.

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the most pleasant we had yet seen ; the woods are very open, so that a man may easily go through them.

The next day, the twenty-ninth of June, we entered the lake, which is some fifteen leagues in length, and seven or eight leagues broad. About a league from the entrance on the south side there is a fairly large river[1] which extends into the interior some sixty or eighty leagues ; and further along, on the same side, is another small river, which extends inland about two leagues and issues from another small lake,[2] some three or four leagues in length. On the north side, where the land appears very high, one sees for a distance of some twenty leagues ; but little by little the mountains fall away toward the west, as if the country were flat. The savages say, that these mountains for the most part are poor soil. The said

[1] The river Nicolet, but it has not so long a course.

[2] This would seem to be La Vallière bay at the south-western extremity of lake St. Peter (Slafter, *op. cit.*). Champlain appears to have overlooked entirely the rivers St. Francis and Yamaska, which are much larger streams than the Nicolet river, and enter lake St. Peter at its western extremity. There are no lakes on the courses of either the Yamaska or the St. Francis.

Ledict lac a quelque trois brasses d'eau par où nous passasmes, qui fut presque au milieu ;[1] la longueur gist d'Est & Oüest, & de la largeur du Nort au Su. Ie croy qu'il ne laisseroit d'y auoir de bons poissons, comme les especes que nous auons pardeçà. Nous le trauersasmes ce mesme iour & vinsmes mouiller l'ancre enuiron deux lieües dās la riuiere qui va au hault à l'entree de laquelle il y a trente petites isles ;[2] selon ce que i'ay peu voir, les vnes sont de deux lieües, d'autres de lieüe & demye & quelques vnes moindres, lesquelles sont remplies de quantité de Noyers, qui ne sont gueres differēs des nostres, & crois que les noix en sont bōnes à leur saisō ; i'ē veis en quantité sous les arbres, qui estoient de deux façons, les vnes petites, & les autres longues, comme d'vn pousse,[3] mais elles estoient pourries. Il y a aussi quantité de vignes sur le Fol. 19v.

Isles à la sortie du lac.

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lake is some three fathoms deep where we passed, which was nearly in the middle.[1] The length lies east and west, and the breadth from north to south. I think it will not be found wanting in good fish, of such kinds as we have in our own country. We passed through it the very same day, and came to anchor about two leagues farther on in the river which leads into the interior, at the mouth of which are thirty small islands.[2] As far as I could discern, some are two leagues in circumference, others a league and a half, and others less ; and they are full of quantities of walnut-trees, which are not very different from ours ; and I think their nuts are good in season : under the trees I saw quantities of them, of two sorts, some small, others an inch long,[3] but they were decayed. There are also a great many vines on the shores of the said islands ; but when the

[1] There is a depth in lake St. Peter, in the autumn, outside the channel, of ten and a half feet.

[2] The St. Lawrence where it enters lake St. Peter. These islands are Eagle, Bear, Grace, Stone, Boat, Mont, Madame, St. Ignace, &c.

[3] This description suggests butternut (*Juglans cinerea* Linn.) and hickory (*Carya* species) trees growing together. Both of these trees were called walnut-trees by the early travellers. The European walnut-tree does not occur in America (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

bord desdictes isles ; mais quand les eaües sont grandes, la plus part d'icelles sont couuertes d'eau : & ce pays est encores meilleur qu'aucun autre que i'eusse veu. Le dernier de Iuin nous en partismes, & vinsmes passer à l'entree de la riuiere des Irocois,[1] où estoient cabãnez & fortiffiez les Sauuages qui leur alloient faire la guerre. Leur forteresse est faicte de quantité de bastons fort pressez les vns contre les autres, laquelle vient ioindre d'vn costé sur le bord de la grand' riuiere, & l'autre sur le bord de la riuiere des Irocois, & leurs Canos arrangez les vns cõtre les autres sur le bord, pour pouuoir promptement fuir, si d'auenture ils sont surprins des Irocois : car leur forteresse est couuerte d'escorce de chesnes, & ne leur sert que pour auoir le temps de s'embarquer. Nous fusmes dans la riuiere des Irocois quelques cinq ou six lieues,[2] & ne peusmes passer plus outre auec nostre barque,

Bonnes terres.

Sauuages cabannez, fortifiez à l'entree de la riuiere des Irocois.

Riuiere des Irocois.

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waters are high, the most part of them are covered with water. This region is still better than any I had seen.

The last day of June we departed thence, and passed along to the mouth of the river of the Iroquois,[1] where the savages who were about to make war against these were lodged and fortified. Their fortress is constructed of a number of stakes set very close together, and on the one side comes down to the bank of the great river, and on the other to the bank of the river of the Iroquois: and their canoes were drawn up side by side on the bank, so that they may quickly take to flight, if peradventure they be surprised by the Iroquois ; for their fort is covered with oak bark, and serves only to give them time to embark.

We went up the river of the Iroquois some five or six leagues,[2] and could pass no farther with our long-boat, by reason

[1] The Richelieu river, which enters the St. Lawrence from lake Champlain at Sorel, 137 miles from Quebec and forty-three from Montreal.

[2] The rapids in the Richelieu which prevented Champlain from ascending farther have now disappeared owing to the construction of a dam and lock at St. Ours, fourteen miles from Sorel (Laverdière, *op. cit.*, ii. 34).

à cause du grand cours d'eau qui dessent, & aussi que l'on ne peut aller par terre & tirer la barque pour la quantité d'arbres qui sont sur le bord. Voyans ne pouuoir aduancer d'auātage, nous prinsmes nostre esquif, pour voir si le courant estoit plus Fol. 20. adoucy, mais allant à quelques deux lieues il estoit encores plus fort, & ne peusmes auancer plus auant. Ne pouuant faire autre chose nous nous en retournasmes en nostre barque. Toute ceste riuiere est large de quelque trois à quatre cens pas, fort saine. Nous y vinsmes [a] cinq isles, distantes les vnes des autres d'vn quart ou de demye lieue, ou d'vne lieue au plus : vne desquelles contient vne lieue, qui est la plus proche ; [1] & les autres sont fort petites. Toutes ces terres sont couuertes d'arbres, & terres basses, comme celles que i'auois veu auparauāt, mais il y a plus de sapins & cyprez qu'aux autres lieux. La terre ne laisse d'y estre bōne, bien qu'elle soit quelque peu sablōneuse. Ceste riuiere va cōme au Sorouest.[2]

Isles.

Terres basses.

[a] *Sic*, pour *vismes*.

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of the strong current flowing down, and we could also not go by land, and drag the long-boat, for the quantity of trees on the banks. Seeing we could pass no farther, we took our skiff, to see if the current slackened ; but after going some two leagues, it became still stronger, and we could advance no higher up. Being unable to do anything else, we came back to our long-boat. The whole of this river is some three to four hundred paces broad, and very free from shoals. We saw five islands in it, distant one from the other a quarter or half a league, or a league at most, one of which, the nearest,[1] is a league long ; the others are very small. All this country is covered with trees and the land is low, like that I had seen before ; but there are more firs and cypresses than in other places. Nevertheless, the soil is good, although somewhat sandy. This river runs about south-west.[2]

[1] Ile Deschaillons.

[2] The course of the Richelieu is almost from south-west to north-west by Champlain's magnetic compass.

Rapport des Sauuages de la riuiere des Irocois.

Les Sauuages disent, qu'à quelque quinze lieues d'où nous auiōs esté, il y a vn sault,[1] qui viēt de fort hault, où ils portent leurs canos pour le passer enuiron vn quart de lieue, & entrēt dedās vn lac,[2] où à l'entree il y a trois isles ; & estāt dedans, ils en rēcontrent encores quelques-vnes. Il peut contenir quelque quarāte ou cinquāte lieues de long, & de large quelque
Fol. 20v. vingtcinq lieues, dans lequel descendent quantité de riuieres, iusques au nombre de dix, lesquelles portent canos assez auant. Puis venāt à la fin dudit lac, il y a vn autre sault,[3] & rentrent dedans vn autre lac,[4] qui est de la grandeur dudit premier, au bout duquel sont cabannez les Irocois. Ils disent aussi qu'il y a vne riuiere[5] qui va rendre à la coste de la

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The savages say, that some fifteen leagues from where we had been, there is a rapid[1] which descends from a much higher level, to pass which they carry their canoes about a quarter of a league, and then enter a lake,[2] at the entrance of which are three islands, and in the lake they meet with yet more islands. This lake is some forty or fifty leagues in length, and some twenty-five leagues in breadth, and into it fall a number of rivers, as many as ten, which are navigable for canoes a long way. Then when they come to the end of this lake, there is another rapid,[3] and they enter another lake,[4] which is as large as the former, and at the extremity of this are lodged the Iroquois. They say, moreover, that there is a river,[5] which leads down to the coast of Florida, whence

[1] St. Louis rapid at Chambly, thirty-two miles from St. Ours lock, and forty-six from Sorel.

[2] Lake Champlain, discovered by him in 1609. The three large islands at the entrance of this lake are Mott, and North and South Hero. The rivers Missisquoi, Muelle, and French empty into this lake.

[3] Outlet of lake George.

[4] Lake George. The size of both lakes is greatly exaggerated here. Lake George is much smaller than lake Champlain, which is 130 miles long with a breadth varying from half a mile to ten.

[5] Hudson river. The distance from Sorel to New York by lakes Champlain and George and the Erie Canal is 411 miles.

Floride, d'où il y peut auoir dudit dernier lac, quelque cent ou cent quarante lieues. Tout le païs des Irocois est quelque peu montagneux, neantmoins païs tres-bon, temperé, sans beaucoup d'hyuer, que fort peu.

Quel est le païs des Irocois.

Arriuee au sault, sa description, & ce qui s'y void de remarquable, auec le rapport des Sauuages de la fin de la grande riuiere.

CHAP. VIII.

PARTANT de la riuiere des Irocois, Nous fusmes mouiller l'ancre à trois lieues de là, à la bande du Nort. Tout ce pays est vne terre basse, remplie de toutes les sortes d'arbres que i'ay dit cy dessus. Le premier iour de Iuillet nous costoyasmes la bande du Nort où le bois y est fort clair, plus qu'en aucun lieu que nous eussions encores veu auparauant, & toute bonne terre pour cultiuer. Ie me meis dans vn canot à la bande du Su, où

Terres basses.

Fol. 21.

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from the lake last mentioned the distance is some hundred or hundred and forty leagues. All the country of the Iroquois is somewhat hilly, nevertheless a very good country, temperate, without much winter, nay, very little.

CHAPTER VIII

Arrival at the Rapid. Description thereof and the remarkable sights there, with the account given by the savages of the upper end of the great river.

SETTING out from the river of the Iroquois, we came to anchor three leagues from there on the north shore. This whole region is low land, covered with all the various sorts of trees I have mentioned above.

On the first day of July we coasted along the north shore, where the woods are very open, more so than in any place we had seen before, and all good land for tillage. I went in a

le veis quantité d'isles,[1] lesquelles sont fort fertilles en fruicts, comme vignes, noix, noizettes,[2] & vne maniere de fruict qui semble à des chastaignes,[3] serises,[4] chesnes,[5] trembles, pible,[a] [6] houblon,[7] fresne, erable, hestre, cyprez, fort peu de pins & sapins; il y a aussi d'autres arbres que ie ne cognois point, lesquels sont fort aggreables. Il s'y trouue quantité de fraises, frãboises, groizelles, rouges, vertes & bleues,[8] auec force petits fruicts qui y croissent parmy grãde quãtité d'herbages. Il y a aussi plusieurs bestes sauuages, comme

Isles en quantité fertiles.

Des bestes Sauuages.

[a] *Poble, pueble, pible,* synonymes de *peuplier* en vieux français. La forme *pible* est en usage au 16e. siècle.

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canoe to the south shore, where I saw a number of islands,[1] very productive of fruits, such as grapes, walnuts, hazel-nuts,[2] and a kind of fruit like chestnuts,[3] cherries,[4] oaks,[5] aspens, poplars,[6] hops,[7] ash, maple, beech, cypress, very few pines and fir-trees. There are also other trees with which I am not acquainted, but which are very fine-looking. One finds there quantities of strawberries, raspberries, red, green, and blue currants,[8] together with many small fruits which grow there in the thick grass. There are also many wild beasts,

[1] St. Ours, Duval, Contrecœur, Ronde, Grande, Devant l'Eglise, Hurteau, aux Rats, aux Veaux, au Dragon, &c., opposite Contrecœur.

[2] The American filbert or hazel-nut (*Corylus americana* Walt.) is meant. Champlain was the first to apply the word for the European variety (*noisette*) to them. Earlier explorers had called them *coudres* (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[3] Probably the American chestnut (*Castanea dentata* (Marsh) Borkh.), which occurs in this region (Ganong, *op. cit.*). The fruit is smaller and sweeter than that of the European chestnut.

[4] The wild red cherry (*Prunus pennsylvanica* Linn.) of Canada (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[5] Probably both the red oak (*Quercus rubra* Linn.) and the white oak (*Quercus alba* Linn.), though the former ranges farthest north (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[6] The variety is probably the balsam poplar (*Populus balsamifera* Linn.) (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[7] The French word denotes the hop of commerce, here applied to the common wild species (*Humulus Lupulus* Linn.) (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[8] The first is the ordinary wild red currant (*Ribes triste* Pall.), the second is probably the gooseberry (*Ribes oxyacanthoides* Linn.), and the third the black currant (*Ribes floridum*, L'Hér.) (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

orignas,[1] cerfs,[2] biches,[3] dains,[4] ours,[5] porc-epics, lapins, regnards, castors, loutres, rats musquets, & quelques autres sortes d'animaux que ie ne cognois point, lesquels sont bons à manger, & dequoy viuent les Sauuages.

Isle aggreable. Nous passasmes contre vne isle [6] qui est fort aggreable, & contient quelque quatre lieues de long, & enuiron demie de large. Ie veis à la bande du Su deux hautes montaignes,[7] qui paroissoient comme à quelque vingt lieues dans les terres : les Sauuages me dirent, que c'estoit le premier sault de ladite riuiere des Irocois. Le Mecredy ensuiuant nous

Montaignes qui paroissêt dans les terres.

Fol. 21v.

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such as moose,[1] stags,[2] hinds,[3] deer,[4] bears,[5] porcupines, hares, foxes, beavers, otters, muskrats and certain other kinds of animals that I am unacquainted with, which are good to eat, and on which the savages subsist.

We passed close to a very pretty island,[6] which is some four leagues long and half a league wide. I saw on the south side two high mountains,[7] which appeared to be some twenty leagues inland ; the savages informed me, that there was the first rapid of the river of the Iroquois.

[1] The word *orignac* was first used by Champlain, then by Lescarbot, who says that it is the Basque name for deer. Littré accepts this derivation. The Basque fishermen were among the earliest visitors to the eastern coast of Canada, and their name for the moose (*Alces americanus* Jardine) may well have been generally adopted by the French fishermen and sailors. The modern form of the word is *orignal* (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[2] The animal in this region most nearly resembling the European stag is the wapiti (*Cervus canadensis* Erxl.). Champlain in 1613 seems to have meant the wapiti by *cerf*. The caribou (*Rangifer tarandus* Linn.) is quite unlike the European stag, and is not likely to have been called by that name (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[3] Apparently the female of the wapiti (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[4] Probably the Virginian or common red deer (*Odocoileus virginanus* (Bodd.) Merriam), the nearest American representative of the European fallow deer (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[5] The common black bear (*Ursus americanus* Pallas) (Ganong, *op. cit.*).

[6] Verchères islands, made up of îles Bouchard, Marie, Desmarais, and Beauregard, which are partially connected at low water.

[7] Mts. Boucherville (700 feet high) and Belœil (1200), a few miles north of the St. Louis rapid at Chambly on the Richelieu. The distance is overestimated.

partismes de ce lieu, & feismes quelques cinq ou six lieues. Nous veismes quantité d'isles ; la terre y est fort basse, & sont couuertes de bois, ainsi que celles de la riuiere des Irocois. Le iour ensuiuāt nous feismes quelques lieues, & passasmes aussi par quantité d'autres isles qui sont tres-bonnes & plaisantes, pour la quantité des prairies qu'il y a, tant du costé de terre ferme, que des autres isles : & tous les bois y sont fort petits, au regard de ceux que nous auions passé. En fin nous arriuasmes cedit iour à l'entree du sault,[1] auec vent en poupe, & rencontrasmes vne isle[2] qui est presque au milieu de ladite entree, laquelle contiēt vn quart de lieue de long, & passasmes à la bande du Su de ladite isle, où il n'y auoit que de 3. à quatre ou cinq pieds d'eau, & aucunes-fois vne brasse ou deux, & puis tout à vn coup n'en trouuiōs que trois ou quatre pieds. Il y a force rochers, & petites isles,

Isles en quātité.

Bois fort petit.

Entree du saut.

Isles.

On Wednesday following we set out from this place, and made some five or six leagues. We saw many islands ; the land there is very low, and these islands are covered with trees, like those along the river of the Iroquois. The following day we made some leagues, and passed many other islands also, which are very good and pleasant from the many meadows thereabouts, both on the mainland and also on the islands : and the woods there are all of very small growth, in comparison with those we had passed.

At length we arrived this same day at the entrance of the rapid,[1] with the wind behind us ; and came to an island,[2] almost in the midst of the said entrance, a quarter of a league long, and passed on the south side of it, where there was only from three to four or five feet of water ; sometimes there was a fathom or two, but then suddenly we found again not more than three or four feet. There are many rocks, and little

[1] St. Mary rapid opposite Montreal.

[2] St. Helen's island. The name was subsequently given to it by Champlain after his wife, Hélène Boullé. The little islands are île Ronde below St. Helen's island and île Verte above it.

où il n'y a point de bois, & sont à fleur d'eau. Du commēcement de la susdite isle, qui est au milieu de ladite entree, l'eau commence à venir de grande force : bien que nous eussions le vent fort bon, si ne peusmes nous en toute nostre puissāce beaucoup auācer ; toutesfois nous passasmes ladite isle qui est à l'entree dudit sault. Voyant que nous ne pouuions auancer, nous vinsmes mouillier l'ancre à la bande du Nort, contre vne petite isle[1] qui est fertile en la plus part des fruicts que i'ay dit cy dessus. Nous appareillasmes aussi tost nostre esquif, que l'on auoit fait faire expres pour passer ledit sault : dans lequel nous entrasmes ledit sieur du Pōt & moy, auec quelques autres Sauuages que nous auions menez pour nous mōstrer le chemin. Partant de nostre barque, nous ne feusmes pas à trois cēts pas, qu'il nous fallut descendre, & quelques matelots se mettre à l'eau pour passer nostre esquif :

Grand courant d'eau.

Fol. 22.

Isle où nous mouillasmes l'ancre.

Passage mauuais.

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islands, with no trees at all on them, and level with the water. From the beginning of the above-mentioned island, which is in the midst of the said entrance, the water begins to come with great force. Although we had the wind very favourable, yet we could not with all our might make any great way : nevertheless we passed the said island which is at the entrance of the rapid. When we perceived that we could go no farther, we came to anchor on the north shore over against a small island,[1] abounding in most of those fruits I have spoken of before. We at once made ready our skiff, which had been constructed on purpose for passing the said rapid, and into it entered the Sieur du Pont and myself, besides certain savages, whom we had brought to show us the way. Leaving our long-boat, we had scarce gone three hundred paces, when we were forced to get out, and some sailors had to get into the

[1] Market Gate island, which lay directly opposite the foot of St. Joseph Street, Montreal. It is now joined to the north shore by quays. The space between this island and the north shore formed the old harbour. See Bouchette's map of 1815 and that on page 293 of Champlain's *Voyages*, 1613, letter C, which will be reproduced in volume ii. of this edition.

le canot des Sauuages passoit aisément. Nous rencontrasmes vne infinité de petits rochers qui estoient à fleur d'eau, où nous touchions souuentesfois. Il y a deux grandes isles,[1] vne du costé du Nort, laquelle contient quelque quinze lieues de long, & presque autant de large, commence à quelques douze lieues dans la riuiere de Canada, allant vers la riuiere des Irocois, & viēt tomber par delà le sault. L'isle qui est à la
Fol. 22v. bāde du Su, a quelque quatre lieues de long, & demie de large. Il y a encores vne autre isle[2] qui est proche de celle du Nort, laquelle peut tenir quelque demie lieue de long, & vn quart de large : & vne autre petite isle[3] qui est entre celle du Nort,[a] & l'autre plus proche du Su, par où nous passasmes l'entree du sault. Estāt passee, il y a vne maniere de

Rochers.

Deux grādes isles.

Maniere de lac.

[a] Ici répétition des deux lignes qui précédent, depuis : *laquelle peut* . . . jusqu'à : *celle du Nort.*

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water to free our skiff. The savages' canoe passed easily. We met with an infinite number of small rocks, level with the surface of the water, whereon we frequently touched.

There are two large islands ;[1] one on the north side, some fifteen leagues long, and almost as many broad, begins some twelve leagues down the river of Canada, as you go toward the river of the Iroquois, and extends beyond the rapid ; the island on the south side is some four leagues long, and half a league broad. There is also another island,[2] near that on the north side, which may be half a league long, and a quarter broad : and another little island[3] lying between that on the north side, and the other nearer to the south shore, where we passed the entrance to the rapid. Past this entrance, there is

[1] The island of Montreal, thirty miles long by nine in breadth, and isle Perrot, about eight miles long and three broad.

[2] St. Paul's island, sometimes called Nuns' island.

[3] Ile Ronde or Round island, situated just below St. Helen's on the east, about fifty yards distant from it. *Cf.* map on page 293 of Champlain's *Voyages*, 1613, No. 9, to be reproduced in volume ii.

lac,[1] où sont toutes ces isles, lequel peut cõtenir quelque cinq lieues de long, & presque autant de large, où il y a quãtité de petites isles qui sont rochers. Il y a proche dudit sault vne montagne [2] qui descouure assez loing dans lesdites terres, & vne petite riuiere [3] qui vient de ladicte montaigne tomber dans le lac. L'on void du costé du Su quelques trois ou quatre mõtaignes qui paroissent comme à quelque quinze ou seize lieues dans les terres.[4] Il y a aussi deux riuieres, l'vne [5] qui va au premier lac de la riuiere des Irocois, par où quelquesfois les Algoumequins leur vont faire la guerre, & l'autre [6] qui est proche du sault qui va quelque peu dans les terres. Venans à approcher dudit sault [7] auec nostre petit esquif,

Montaigne proche du sault.

Riuiere dedãs le lac qui va aux Irocois.

Arriuee au sault auec l'esquif.

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a kind of lake,[1] wherein lie all these islands, which may be some five leagues long and almost as many broad, and where are many small rocky islands. Near the said rapid is a mountain,[2] visible from very far in the interior, and a little river [3] that flows from the said mountain into the lake. One sees on the south side three or four mountains, which seem to be about fifteen or sixteen leagues in the interior.[4] There are also two rivers; one [5] leading to the first lake of the river of the Iroquois, up which sometimes the Algonquins make war on them; and the other [6] which is near the rapid, and extends a little way inland.

As we began to approach the said rapid [7] with our little

[1] This widening of the river between the Lachine rapids and Montreal has no name.

[2] Mount Royal, so named by Jacques Cartier, and from which the city of Montreal takes its name. The Indian village of Hochelaga on the site of the present city seems to have entirely disappeared before Champlain's visit.

[3] The river St. Pierre, which flowed from a lake of the same name, now part of the Lachine canal.

[4] Boucherville, Belœil, Rougemont, Yamaska, and Mt. Johnson.

[5] The river St. Lambert; a short portage led from it to the river Montreal, which flows into the basin of Chambly, "the lake" referred to (Laverdière, *op. cit.*, ii. 39). [6] Rivière La Tortue.

[7] The Lachine rapids, which are three miles long.

Fol. 23. & le canot, ie vous asseure que iamais ie ne veis vn torrent d'eau desborder auec vne telle impetuosité comme il faict, bien qu'il ne soit pas beaucoup haut, n'estant en d'aucuns lieux que d'vne brasse ou de deux & au plus de trois. Il dessend comme de degré en degré, & en chasque lieu où il y a quelque peu de hauteur, il s'y faict vn esbouillonnement estrange de la force & roideur que va l'eau en trauersant ledit sault qui peut contenir vne lieue. Il y a force rochers de large, & enuiron le milieu, il y a des isles qui sont fort estroites & fort longues, où il y a sault tant du costé desdictes isles qui sont au Su, cõme du costé du Nort, où il fait si dãgereux, qu'il est hors de la puissance d'homme d'y passer vn bateau, pour petit qu'il soit. Nous fusmes par terre dans les bois pour en veoir la fin, où il y a vne lieue, & où l'õ ne voit plus de rochers ny de saults, mais l'eau y va si viste qu'il est impossible de plus ; & ce courant contient quelque trois ou quatre lieues ; de façon que c'est en vain de s'imaginer que

Torrẽt d'eau au sault.

Hauteur du sault.

Rochers dans le sault.

Isles.

Impossible de passer le sault par basteau.

Trauerses que nous fismes par terre pour veoir la fin du sault.

Cours d'eau au dessus du sault.

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skiff and the canoe, I assure you I never saw any torrent of water pour over with such force as this does, although it is not very high, being in some places only one or two fathoms, and at the most three. It descends as it were step by step : and wherever it falls from some small height, it boils up extraordinarily, owing to the force and speed of the water as it passes through the said rapid, which may be a league in length. There are many rocks out in the stream, and about the middle are very long narrow islands, where the current runs both beside the islands that are toward the south, and also to the north : and it is so dangerous, that it is beyond the power of man to pass with any boat, however small it be. We went by land through the woods, to see the end of the rapid, which is a league away, and there we saw no more rocks or falls, but the water runs with the utmost possible swiftness ; and this current extends for three or four leagues, so that it is vain to imagine that any boats could be conveyed past the

l'on peust faire passer aucuns bateaux par lesdicts saults. Mais qui les voudroit passer, il se faudroit accommoder des Canos des Sauuages, qu'vn homme peut porter aisement : car de porter bateaux, c'est chose laquelle ne se peut faire en si bref temps comme il le faudroit pour pouuoir s'en retourner en Frãce, si l'on n'y hyuernoit. Et outre ce sault premier, il y en a dix autres, la plus part difficilles à passer : de façon que ce seroit de grãdes peines & trauaux pour pouuoir voir, & faire ce que l'on pourroit se promettre par basteau, si ce n'estoit à grands frais & despens, & encores en dãger de trauailler en vain : mais auec les canots des Sauuages l'on peut aller librement & promptement en toutes les terres, tant aux petites Riuieres comme aux grandes. Si bien qu'en se gouuernant par le moyen desdits Sauuages & de leurs canots, l'on pourra voir tout ce qui se peut, bon & mauuais, dans vn an ou deux. Tout ce peu de pays du costé dudict sault que nous trauersames par terre, est bois fort

Moyen de passer le sault. Fol. 23v.

Bonnes terres & bois fort clair.

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same rapids. But he who would pass them must provide himself with the canoes of the savages, which a man can easily carry ; for to transport a boat is a thing that cannot be done in the short time necessary to enable one to return to France to winter. And besides this first rapid, there are ten more, for the most part difficult to pass ; so that it would be a matter of great toil and labour to be able to see and do by boat what a man might propose, except at great cost and expense, besides the risk of labouring in vain. But with the canoes of the savages one may travel freely and quickly throughout the country, as well up the little rivers as up the large ones. So that by directing one's course with the help of the savages and their canoes, a man may see all that is to be seen, good and bad, within the space of a year or two.

The whole of that small extent of country we passed through by land alongside the said rapid is very open woods,

clair, où l'on peut aller aisemēt, auecques armes, sans beaucoup de peine; l'air y est plus doux & temperé, & de meilleure terre qu'en lieu que i'eusse veu, où il y a quantité de bois & fruicts, comme en tous les autres lieux cy dessus, & est par les 45. degrez & quelques minutes. Fol. 24. Voyans que nous ne pouuions faire d'auantage, nous en retournasmes en nostre barque, où nous interrogeasmes les Sauuages que nous auions, de la fin de la riuiere, que ie leur fis figurer de leur main, & de quelle partie procedoit sa source. Ils nous dirent que passé le premier sault que nous auions veu, ils faisoient quelques dix ou quinze lieues [1] auec leurs canots dedans la riuiere, où il y a vne riuiere [2] qui va en la demeure des Algoumequins, qui sont à quelque soixante lieues esloignez de la grande riuiere, & puis ils venoient à passer cinq saults [3] lesquels peuuent contenir du premier au

Ledit sault est par les 45. degrez & quelques minuttes.

Sauuages que nous interrogeasmes, où est la fin de la grande Riuiere.

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and one may easily carry one's weapons, without much toil; the climate there is milder and more equable, and the soil better, than in any place I had seen, with trees and fruit in great quantity, as in all the other places above-mentioned; and it is in 45° and some minutes.

When we saw we could do no more, we returned to our long-boat, where we questioned the savages we had with us about the end of the river, which I made them draw by hand, and [show] whence was its source. They told us, that beyond the first rapid we had seen, they go up the river in their canoes some ten or fifteen leagues [1] to a river [2] which extends to the dwelling-place of the Algonquins, who dwell some sixty leagues distant from the great river; and then they pass five rapids,[3] which from the first to the last may extend eight

[1] In reality twelve to fifteen miles, the length of lake St. Louis.

[2] The Ottawa river.

[3] The Cascades, Split Rock, Cedar, and Coteau-du-Lac rapids. La Hontan also mentions four rapids between lakes St. Louis and St. Francis, i.e. *Cascades, le cataracte du Trou, sauts des Cèdres* and *du Buisson*.

dernier huict lieues,[1] desquels il y en a deux où ils portent leurs canots pour les passer. Chasque sault peut tenir quelque demy quart de lieuë, ou vn quart au plus : Et puis ils viennent dedans vn lac,[2] qui peut tenir quelque quinze ou seize lieües de long. De là ils rentrent dedans vne riuiere,[3] qui peut contenir vne lieue de large, & font quelques deux lieues dedans, & puis rentrent dans vn autre lac [4] de quelque quatre ou cinq lieues de long ; venant au bout duquel ils passent cinq autres saults,[5] distant du premier au dernier quelque vingt-cinq ou trente lieues,[6] dont il y en a trois où ils portent Fol. 24v. leurs canots pour les passer ; & les autres deux ils ne les font que trainer dedans l'eau, d'autant que le cours n'y est si fort ne mauuais cōme aux autres. De tous ces saults aucun n'est

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leagues,[1] and at two of them they carry their canoes to get past them. Each rapid may extend an eighth of a league or a quarter at the most. Then they come to a lake,[2] which may be fifteen or sixteen leagues long. Beyond it they again enter a river,[3] which may be a league broad, and travel some two leagues up it ; and then enter another lake [4] some four or five leagues in length ; at the end of which they pass five other rapids,[5] the distance from the first to the last being some twenty-five or thirty leagues : [6] past three of these they carry their canoes, and at the other two they do but track them in the water, because the current is not so strong there nor so difficult as in the others. None of all these

[1] There are only some eleven miles of rapids here.

[2] Lake St. Francis, about twenty-eight miles long, and from five to seven wide.

[3] The St. Lawrence.

[4] There would seem to be some confusion here. Lake St. Francis may be counted twice.

[5] The Long Sault, nine miles long, the rapide Plat, and the Galoups, which latter are seven and a half miles in length. *Cf.* the description in La Hontan, *New Voyages to N. America* (London, 1735), i. 30 (Slafter, *op. cit.*).

[6] The distance from the foot of the Long Sault to the head of the Galoups is only thirty-nine miles.

si dificille à passer comme celuy que nous auons veu. Et puis ils viēnent dedans vn lac[1] qui peut tenir quelques 80. lieues de long, où il y a quantité d'isles, & que au bout d'iceluy l'eau y est salubre[2] & l'hyuer doux. A la fin dudict lac ils passent vn sault,[3] qui est quelque peu esleué, où il y a peu d'eau laquelle dessend: là ils portent leurs canots par terre enuiron vn quart de lieüe pour passer ce sault: De là entrent dans vn autre lac[4] qui peut tenir quelque soixante lieuës de long, & que l'eau en est fort salubre[2]: estant à la fin ils viennent à vn destroit[5] qui contient deux lieues de large & va assez auāt dans les terres: qu'ils n'auoient point passé plus outre, & n'auoient veu la fin d'vn lac[6] qui est à quelque quinze ou seize lieues d'où ils ont esté, ny que ceux

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rapids is so hard to pass as that we had seen. Then they come into a lake,[1] which may be some eighty leagues in length, and in which are many islands, and at the extremity of it the water is brackish[2] and the winter mild. At the end of the said lake they pass a fall[3] which is somewhat high, and where little water flows over: there they carry their canoes by land about a quarter of a league in order to pass this fall. From here they enter another lake,[4] which may be some sixty leagues long, and its water is very brackish.[2] Having reached the end of it they come to a strait[5] two leagues broad, which leads far into the interior. They told us that they themselves had passed no farther, and had not seen the extremity of a lake,[6] which is some fifteen or sixteen leagues beyond where they themselves had been, nor had they

[1] Lake Ontario. Its length is actually 197 miles.

[2] Such is the translation in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, iv., 1614 (London, 1625) and which the sense here and at p. 163 seems to require. *Cf.* A. N. Bourne, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, ii. 200 (New York, 1906).

[3] Niagara Falls, 158 feet high. [4] Lake Erie, 250 miles long.

[5] Detroit river, or the strait, as the name implies, connecting lake Erie and lake St. Clair.

[6] Lake Huron, denominated on early maps *Mer douce*. See Champlain's map of 1632.

qui le[a] leur auoient dit eussent veu homme qui l'eust veu, d'autant qu'il est si grand, qu'ils ne se hazarderont pas de se mettre au large, de peur que quelque tourmente ou coup de Fol. 25. vent ne les surprint : disent qu'en esté le Soleil se couche au Nort dudict lac, & en l'hiuer il se couche comme au millieu ; que l'eau y est tres-mauuaise, comme celle de ceste mer.[1] Ie leur demandis, si depuis cedict lac dernier qu'ils auoient veu,[2] si l'eau descendoit tousiours dans la Riuiere venant à Gaschepay : ils me dirent que non ; que depuis le troisiesme lac,[3] elle descendoit seulement venāt audit Gaschepay, mais que depuis le dernier sault, qui est quelque peu haut,[4] comme i'ay dit, que l'eau estoit presque pacifique, & que ledict lac[2] pouuoit prendre cours par autres riuieres, lesquelles vont dedans les terres, soit au Su, ou au Nort, dont il y en a quantité qui y reffluēt, & dont ils ne voyent point la fin. Or à mon iugement, il faudroit q̄ si tāt de riuieres

[a] Le texte original porte : *qui leur auoient dit . . . qui le l'eust veu.*

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who told them of it known any man that had seen it, because it is so vast that they will not venture to put out into the same, for fear lest some storm or gale should surprise them. They say that in summer the sun sets to the north of this lake, and in winter it sets as it were in the middle of it ; and that the water there is very salt, like that of our sea.[1]

I asked them whether from this said last lake which they had seen[2] the water still flowed down the river towards Gaspé. They said no ; that it was from the third lake[3] only that it flowed towards Gaspé, but that beyond the last fall, which is somewhat high,[4] as I have said, the water was almost still, and that the said lake[2] might find an outlet by other rivers, which flow into the interior, either to the south, or to the north, of which there are many, and of these they know not the extremity. Now, in my judgment, if so many

[1] The reference to salt water here is perhaps a vague report of Hudson Bay which had reached them from other tribes or from tribe to tribe.

[2] Lake Erie. [3] Lake Ontario. [4] Niagara.

desbordent dedans ce lac,[1] n'ayāt que si peu de cours audit sault,[2] qu'il faut par necessité, qu'il reffluë dedans quelque grandissime riuiere. Mais ce qui me faict croire qu'il n'y a point de riuiere par où cedit lac [1] reffluë, veu le nombre de toutes les autres riuieres qui reffluēt dedans, c'est que les Sauuages n'ont veu aucune riuiere qui print son cours par
Fol. 25v. dedans les terres, qu'au lieu où ils ont esté : Ce qui me faict croire que c'est la mer du Su,[3] estant salee comme ils disent. Toutesfois il n'y faut tant adiouster de foy, que ce ne soit auec raisons apparentes, bien qu'il y en aye quelque peu. Voilà au certain tout ce que i'ay veu cy dessus, & ouy dire aux Sauuages sur ce que nous les auons interrogez.

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rivers fall into this lake,[1] which has so small a discharge at the said fall,[2] it must of necessity have an outflow by some very large river. But what makes me believe there is no river by which this lake [1] has its outflow (considering the number of all the rivers which fall into it) is that the savages have not seen any river taking its course into the interior, save in the place where they were ; which makes me believe that this is the South Sea,[3] being salt as they say. Nevertheless we must not give too much credence to this view, except it be with manifest reason, even though there be some small grounds. This is all I have seen in the matter or heard for certain from the savages, in reply to what we asked of them.

[1] Lake Erie. [2] Niagara. [3] The Pacific Ocean.

Retour du Sault à Tadousac, auec la confrontation du rapport de plusieurs Sauuages, touchant la longueur, & commencement de la grande Riuiere de Canadas : Du nombre des saults & lacs qu'elle trauerse.

CHAP. IX.

NOUS partismes dudict Sault[1] le Vendredy quatriesme iour de Iuin,[2] & reuinsmes cedit iour à la riuiere des Irocois.[3] Le Dimanche sixiesme iour de Iuin[2] nous en partismes, & vinsmes mouiller l'ancre au lac.[4] Le Lundy ensuiuant nous feusmes mouiller l'ancre aux trois Riuieres. Cedit iour nous feismes quelques quatre lieues par delà lesdictes trois Riuieres. Le Mardy ensuiuant nous vinsmes à Quebec, & le lendemain nous feusmes au Fol. 26.
bout de l'isle d'Orleans, où les Sauuages vindrent à nous, qui

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CHAPTER IX

Return from the Rapid to Tadoussac, with comparison of the reports of several savages concerning the length and source of the great river of Canada; of the number of rapids and lakes that it traverses.

WE set out from the said rapid[1] on Friday the fourth day of June,[2] and returned the same day to the river of the Iroquois.[3] On Sunday the sixth of June[2] we set out thence, and came to anchor at the lake.[4] On Monday following we cast anchor at Three Rivers. The same day we made some four leagues beyond the said Three Rivers. On Tuesday following we came to Quebec; and the next day reached the end of the island of Orleans, where the savages came to us, who were encamped

[1] Lachine.
[2] Plainly a slip for "July."
[3] The Richelieu.
[4] Lake St. Peter.

estoient cabannez à la grād'terre du Nort. Nous interrogeasmes deux ou trois Algoumequins, pour sçauoir s'ils se conformeroient auec ceux que nous auions interrogez touchant la fin & le commencement de ladite riuiere de Canadas : Ils dirent, comme ils l'ont figuré, que passé le sault que nous auions veu,[1] enuiron deux ou trois lieues, il va vne riuiere en leur demeure,[2] qui est en la bande du Nort ; continuant le chemin dans ladicte grand riuiere,[3] ils passent vn sault, où ils portent leurs canots, & viennent à passer cinq autres saults, lesquels peuuent contenir du premier au dernier quelque neuf ou dix lieues, & que lesdits saults ne sont point difficiles à passer, & ne font que trainer leurs canots en la plus part desdits saults, horsmis à deux où ils les portent ; de là viennent à entrer dedans vne riuiere, qui est comme vne maniere de lac, laquelle peut contenir quelques six ou sept lieues ; & puis passent cinq autres saults, où ils trainent leurs canots cōme ausdits premiers, horsmis à deux, où ils les portent

Autre rapport des Sauuages Algoumequins.

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on the mainland to the north. We questioned two or three Algonquins to find out whether they would agree with those whom we had examined about the end and source of the said river of Canada.

They said, according to the sketch they gave of it, that, some two or three leagues past the rapid we had seen,[1] a river leads towards their territory, which is on the north side.[2] Continuing the course up the said great river,[3] they pass a rapid where they carry their canoes, and then pass five other rapids, which may occupy from the first to last some nine or ten leagues ; that these rapids are not hard to pass, and that they do but track their canoes in most of them, except at two, where they carry them. Thence they enter a river, which is a kind of lake, and may extend some six or seven leagues : and then they pass five other rapids, where they track their canoes as in the first-mentioned, except at two, where they carry

[1] Lachine. [2] The Ottawa. [3] The St. Lawrence.

comme aux premiers ; & que du premier au dernier il y a quelque vingt ou 25. lieues : puis viennent dedans vn lac [1] qui contient quelque cent cinquante lieues de long, & quelque quatre ou cinq lieues à l'entree dudit lac, il y a vne riuiere [2] qui va aux Algoumequins vers le nort : Et vne autre [3] qui va aux Irocois, par où lesdicts Algoumequins & Irocois se font la guerre. Et vn peu plus haut à la bande du Su dudit lac, il y a vne autre riuiere [4] qui va aux Irocois : puis venant à la fin dudit lac, ils rencontrent vn autre sault,[5] où ils portent leurs canots : de là ils entrent dedans vn autre tres-grand lac [6] qui peut contenir autant comme le premier : ils n'y ont esté que fort peu dans ce dernier, & ont ouy dire qu'à la fin dudit lac, il y a vne mer,[7] dōt ils n'ont veu la fin, ne ouy dire Fol. 26v.

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them as at the first ; and from the first to the last is a distance of some twenty or twenty-five leagues. Then they come into a lake [1] which is some hundred and fifty leagues in length ; and about four or five leagues from the entrance of that lake there is a river [2] leading northward to the Algonquins, and another [3] leading to the Iroquois, by way of which the said Algonquins and Iroquois make war upon one another. And a little higher up on the south side of the lake is another river [4] leading to the Iroquois. Then when they come to the end of the said lake, they meet with another fall,[5] where they carry their canoes. Thence they enter another very large lake,[6] which may be as big as the former. They have been but very little in this last lake and have heard tell that at the extremity thereof is a sea,[7] the end of which they have

[1] Ontario.

[2] The river-like Bay of Quinté (Slafter, *op. cit.*), into which flows the Trent river, connecting with Rice lake and eventually with lake Simcoe.

[3] The Oswego river, if the distance of "four or five leagues" is understood as well of the south shore; otherwise, the Black river. The former seems the more probable.

[4] Most likely the Genesee river, but if the Black river is taken to be the first river along the south shore, then the second river would be the Oswego river. [5] Niagara. [6] Erie. [7] Lake Huron.

qu'aucun l'aye veue : Mais que là où ils ont esté, l'eau n'est point mauuaise, d'autant qu'ils n'ont point aduancé plus haut : & que le cours de l'eau vient du costé du Soleil couchant venant à l'Orient, & ne sçauent si passé ledit lac qu'ils ont veu, il y a autre cours d'eau qui aille du costé de l'Occident : que le Soleil se couche à main droite dudit lac, qui est selon mon iugement au Norouest, peu plus ou moins, &
Fol. 27. qu'au premier lac [1] l'eau ne gelle point, ce qui faict iuger que le temps y est temperé, & que toutes les terres des Algoumequins est terre basse, rēplie de fort peu de bois, & du costé des Irocois est terre montaigneuse, neantmoins elles sont tresbonnes & fertilles, & meilleures qu'en aucun endroict qu'ils ayent veu : lesdits Irocois se tiennent à quelque cinquante ou soixante lieues dudit grand lac.[1] Voilà au certain ce qu'ils m'ont dit auoir veu, qui ne differe que bien peu au rapport des premiers.

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not seen, nor have they heard of any one who has seen it; but where they have been, the water is not salt, inasmuch as they have not advanced far into it; and the course of the waters is from the direction of the setting sun toward the east; and they know not whether beyond the lakes they have seen there be another watercourse flowing westward. They say that the sun sets to the right hand of this lake; which, in my judgment, is more or less to the north-west; and that in the first lake [1] the water does not freeze, which makes me think the climate there is temperate. All the territory of the Algonquins is low land, thinly wooded: while the Iroquois country is hilly, but nevertheless very good and fertile, and better than any region they had seen. The said Iroquois dwell some fifty or sixty leagues from the said great lake.[1] This is an exact report of what they told me they had seen; and differs but very little from the account of the first savages.

[1] Ontario.

Cedict iour nous feusmes proche de l'isle aux Coudres, cōme enuiron trois lieues.[1] Le Ieudy 10. dudit mois, nous vinsmes à quelque lieue & demie de l'isle au Lieure, du costé du Nort, où il vint d'autres Sauuages en nostre barque, entre lesquels il y auoit vn ieune hōme Algoumequin, qui auoit fort voyagé dedans ledit grand lac :[2] nous l'interrogeasmes fort particulierement comme nous auions faict les autres Sauuages. Il nous dit, Que passé ledict sault que nous auions veu,[3] qu'à quelque deux ou trois lieuës, il y a vne riuiere qui va ausdicts Algoumequins,[4] où ils sont cabannez, & qu'allant en ladicte grand riuiere[5] il y a cinq saults, qui peuuēt contenir du premier au dernier quelque huict ou neuf lieües,[6] dont il y en a trois où ils portent leurs canots, & deux autres où ils les trainent : que chacun desdicts saults peut tenir vn quart de lieuë de lōg, puis viennent dedans vn lac qui peut cōtenir quelques quinze lieues. Puis ils passent cinq autres

Rapport d'vn ieune homme Sauuage Algoumequin.

Fol. 27v.

This day we made our way nearly to Coudres island, somewhere about three leagues.[1] On Thursday, the tenth of the said month, we came within about a league and a half of Hare island, on the north side, where other savages came to our long-boat, among whom was a young Algonquin, who had travelled much in the said great lake.[2] We questioned him very particularly, as we had done the other savages. He told us, that past the said rapid which we had seen,[3] within some two or three leagues, is a river which leads to where the Algonquins dwell,[4] and that, passing up the great river,[5] there are five rapids, which from first to last may cover some eight or nine leagues,[6] at three of which they carry their canoes, and at two others they track them : each of these rapids may be a quarter of a league long : then they come into a lake, which may extend some fifteen leagues. Then they pass five other

[1] The east end of Orleans island lies about twenty miles from Coudres island. [2] Ontario (?) [3] Lachine rapids.
[4] The Ottawa. [5] St. Lawrence.
[6] *Cf. supra*, chap. viii., p. 153, note 3; p. 154, note 1.

sauls,[1] qui peuuent contenir du premier au dernier quelques vingt à vingt cinq lieues, où il n'y a que 2. desdicts sauls qu'ils passent auec leurs canots ; aux autres trois ils ne les font que trainer. De là ils entrent dedans vn grandissime lac, qui peut contenir quelques trois cents lieues de long :[2] Aduançant quelques cent lieues dedans ledict lac, ils rencontrent vne isle qui est fort grande,[3] où au delà de ladicte isle, l'eau est salubre[4] ; mais que passant quelque cent lieues plus auant, l'eau est encore plus mauuaise ; arriuant à la fin dudict lac, l'eau est du tout salee : Qu'il y a vn sault[5] qui peut contenir vne lieue de large, d'où il dessend vn grandissime courant d'eau dans ledit lac. Que passé ce sault, on ne voit plus de terre, ny d'vn costé ne d'autre, sinon vne mer[6] si grande, qu'ils n'en ont point veu la fin, ny ouy dire qu'aucun l'aye
Fol. 28. veue : Que le Soleil se couche à main droite dudict lac,[7] &

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rapids,[1] which may cover from first to last some twenty to twenty-five leagues ; and only two of the rapids do they pass in their canoes ; at the other three they track them. Thence they enter a very large lake, which may have a length of some three hundred leagues.[2] Proceeding some hundred leagues into the said lake, they come to a very large island,[3] and beyond this island the water is brackish ;[4] but when they have passed some hundred leagues farther, the water becomes more brackish ; and when they get to the end of the said lake, the water is wholly salt. There is a fall[5] that may be a league broad, over which an exceeding great current of water descends into the said lake. Past this fall, no more land is seen either on the one side or on the other, but a sea[6] so great that they never have seen the end of it, nor heard of any one that has. The sun sets to the right hand of the said lake,[7]

[1] *Cf.* p. 154, *supra*, notes 5 and 6.
[2] *Cf.* p. 155, *supra*, note 1.
[3] Probably the peninsula of Prince Edward, on the north side of lake Ontario. The distances are greatly exaggerated. [4] *Cf.* p. 155, note 2.
[5] Niagara. [6] Lake Erie. [7] Ontario.

qu'à son entree il y a vne Riuiere qui va aux Algoumequins & l'autre aux Irocois, par où ils se font la guerre.[1] Que la terre des Irocois est quelque peu montaigneuse, neantmoins fort fertille, où il y a quãtité de bled d'Inde, & autres fruicts qu'ils n'ont point en leur terre : Que la terre des Algoumequins est basse & fertille. Ie leur demandis s'ils n'auoient point congnoissance de quelques mines ; ils nous dirent, Qu'il y a vne nation, qu'on appelle les bons Irocois,[2] qui viennent pour troquer des marchandises, que les vaisseaux François dõnent aux Algoumequins, lesquels disent qu'il y a à la partie du Nort vne mine de franc cuiure, dont ils nous en ont monstré quelques brasselets qu'ils auoiẽt eu desdicts bons Irocois : Que si l'on y voulloit aller, ils y meneroient ceux qui seroient depputez pour cest effect. Voylà tout ce que i'ay peu apprendre des vns & des autres, ne se differant que

Peu de difference entre le rapport des Sauuages.

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and at the entrance of it is a river leading to the territory of the Algonquins, and another to that of the Iroquois, by way of which they make war on one another.[1] The country of the Iroquois is somewhat hilly, yet very fertile, and in it is grown a quantity of Indian corn, and other products which they have not in their own country : the country of the Algonquins is low land and fertile.

I inquired of them, whether they had knowledge of any mines ? They told us, that there is a tribe called the good Iroquois,[2] who come to barter for the merchandise which the French ships furnish to the Algonquins, and that these say there is toward the north a mine of pure copper, of which they showed us some bracelets obtained from the good Iroquois. They said that if any desired to go thither, they would guide there those who should be appointed for that purpose. This is all I could learn from both parties, who

[1] *Cf.* p. 160, *supra*, notes 2 and 3.

[2] The Hurons, who were nearly related to the Iroquois (Laverdière, *op. cit.*, ii. 47).

bien peu, sinon que les seconds qui furent interrogez, dirent n'auoir point beu de l'eau salee, aussi ils n'ont pas esté si loing dans ledict lac comme les autres ; & different quelque peu
Fol. 28v. du chemin, les vns le faisant plus court, & les autres plus long : de façon que selon leur rapport, du sault où nous auons esté, il y a iusques à la mer salee, qui peut estre celle du Su, quelque 400. lieües :[1] sans doute, selon leur rapport, ce ne doit estre autre chose que la mer du Su, le Soleil se couchant où ils disent. Le Vendredy dixiesme[2] dudict mois nous fusmes de retour à Tadousac où estoit nostre vaisseau. *Retour à Tadousac.*

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differed but very little ; except that the second who were questioned said they had not tasted the salt water ; moreover they have not been so far up the said lake as the others, and they differ in some small extent in the length of the journey, the one party making it shorter, the other longer ; so that, according to their account, from the rapid where we had been, to the salt sea, which may be the South Sea, is some four hundred leagues.[1] Without doubt, from their account, this can be nothing else than the South Sea, the sun setting where they say it does. On Friday the tenth[2] of the said month we were back at Tadoussac, where lay our ship.

[1] The distance from Lachine to lake Huron is about 700 miles.
[2] This should be " Friday, July the eleventh."

Voyage de Tadousac en l'Isle perçee, description de la baye des Moluës, de l'isle de bonne-aduenture, de la baye des Chaleurs, de plusieurs riuieres, lacs; & pays où se trouue plusieurs sortes de mines.

CHAP. X.

Partement de Tadousac pour aller à Gachepay.

Rencontre de Sauuages.

AVSSI tost que nous fusmes arriuez à Tadousac, nous nous rembarquasmes pour aller à Gachepay, qui est distant dudict Tadousac enuiron cent lieües.[1] Le treiziesme iour dudict mois, nous rencōtrasmes vne troupe de Sauuages qui estoient cabannez du costé du Su, presque au millieu du chemin de Tadousac à Gachepay. Leur Sagamo qui les menoit s'appelle Armouchides, qui est Fol. 29. tenu pour l'vn des plus aduisez & hardis qui soit entre les Sauuages : il s'en alloit à Tadousac pour troquer des flesches, & chairs d'Orignac, qu'ils ont pour des Castors & Martres des

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CHAPTER X

Voyage from Tadoussac to Isle Percée. Description of Codfish Bay; of Bonaventure Island; of Chaleur Bay; of many rivers, lakes and regions where several kinds of mines are found.

AS soon as we were come to Tadoussac, we re-embarked to go to Gaspé, which is distant from Tadoussac about a hundred leagues.[1] On the thirteenth day of the said month we met with a troop of savages, who were encamped on the south shore, almost midway from Tadoussac to Gaspé. Their Sagamore who led them is named Armouchides, and is held to be one of the wisest and boldest of the savages. He was on his way to Tadoussac to barter arrows and moose-flesh for the beaver and marten

[1] This distance is correct. From Gaspé to Tadoussac is about 315 miles.

autres Sauuages Mōtaignez, Estechemains & Algoumequins. Le 15. iour dudict mois nous arriuasmes à Gachepay, qui est dans vne baye, comme à vne lieüe & demye du costé du Nort : ladicte baye contient quelque sept ou huit lieües de lōg, & à son entree quatre lieües de large : il y a vne Riuiere [1] qui va quelque trente lieües dans les terres. Puis nous vismes vne autre baye que l'on appelle la baye des Molües,[2] laquelle peut tenir quelques trois lieües de long, autant de large à son entree. De là l'on vient à l'Isle perçee,[3] qui est comme vn rocher fort haut, esleué des deux costez, où il y a vn trou par où les chalouppes & bateaux peuuent passer de haute mer : & de basse mer, l'on peut aller de la grād terre à ladite isle, qui n'en est qu'à quelque quatre ou cinq cens pas. Plus il y a vne autre isle cōme au Suest de l'isle percee, enuiron vne

Nostre arriuee à Gachepay.

De la baye des Moluës.

L'isle percee.

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of the other Montagnais, Etechemin, and Algonquin Indians.

On the fifteenth of the said month we reached Gaspé, which is in a bay, about a league and a half from the north side of it ; and this bay is some seven or eight leagues in length, and at its mouth is four leagues broad. There is a river [1] which leads some thirty leagues inland. Then we saw another bay, called Codfish bay,[2] which may be some three leagues long, and as much in breadth at the entrance. Thence one comes to isle Percée,[3] which is a sort of very high rock, steep on both sides, with a hole in it, through which shallops and boats can pass at high water : and at low water one can walk from the mainland to the said island, which is only some four or five hundred paces off. Then there is another island, about a league from isle Percée towards the south-east,

[1] York river, the longest of those which empty into Gaspé bay, upwards of 100 miles in length.

[2] Molue bay, now Mal bay by corruption from the former. See Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi. 101.

[3] Percé rock, a huge mass of red sandstone, 290 feet high and 1500 feet long.

L'Isle de Bonne aduēture.

lieuë, qui s'appelle l'isle de Bonne aduenture,[1] & peut tenir de long demie lieuë. Tous cesdits lieux de Gachepay, baye des Molües, & Isle percee, sont les lieux où il se faict la pesche du poisson sec & verd.[2] Fol. 29v.

De la baye de Chaleurs.

Passant l'isle percee, il y a vne baye qui s'appelle la baye de Chaleurs,[3] qui va comme à l'Ouest Sorouest, quelques quatre-vingts lieues dedans les terres, contenant de large en son entree quelques quinze lieues. Les Sauuages Canadiens disent, qu'à la grāde riuiere de Canadas, enuiron quelques soixante lieues, rengeant la coste du Su, il y a vne petite riuiere qui s'appelle Mantanne,[4] laquelle va quelques dixhuict lieues dans les terres; & estans au bout d'icelle ils portent leurs canots enuiron vne lieue par terre, & se viennent rendre à ladite baye de Chaleurs,[5] par où ils vont quelquesfois à l'isle

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called Bonaventure island,[1] which may be half a league long. All these places, Gaspé, Codfish bay, and isle Percée, are places where fishing is carried on, both dry and green.[2]

After passing isle Percée, there is a bay called Chaleur bay,[3] which runs inland about west-south-west some eighty leagues, having a breadth at its entrance of about fifteen leagues. The savages of Canada say that up the great river of Canada about sixty leagues, along the south shore, is a little river called Mantanne,[4] which extends inland some eighteen leagues, and when they get to the head of it they carry their canoes inland about a league, and reach the said Chaleur bay,[5] down which

[1] Bonaventure island.

[2] For a description of "dry and green" fishing, see Denys, *Description and Natural History of Acadia*, edited by Ganong (Champlain Society's Publications, Toronto, 1908), *passim*.

[3] Baie de Chaleur, so named by Cartier in 1534 from the excessive heat. It is ninety miles long and about eighteen broad at the entrance.

[4] Now the Matane.

[5] Chaleur bay may be reached by a portage of about nine miles from the river Matane to the Metapedia, which empties into the Restigouche (Slafter, *op. cit.*). *Cf.* Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi. 107.

percee. Aussi ils vont de ladicte baye à Tregate [1] & Misamichy.[2] Continuant ladite coste, on renge quantité de riuieres, & vient-on à vn lieu où il y a vne riuiere qui s'appelle Souricoua,[3] où le Sieur Preuert a esté pour descouurir vne mine de cuiure. Ils vont auec leurs canots dans ceste riuiere deux ou trois iours ; puis ils trauersent quelques deux ou trois lieues de terre, iusques à ladite mine, qui est sur le bord
Fol. 30. de la mer du costé du Su.[4] A l'entrée de ladite riuiere, on trouue vne isle [5] enuiron vne lieue dans la mer ; de ladicte isle iusques à l'isle percee, il y a quelques soixante ou septante lieues. Puis continuant ladite coste qui va deuers l'Est on

De Tregate & Misamichy.

Riuiere où a esté le Sieur Preuert.

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they sometimes proceed as far as isle Percée. Also they go from the said bay to Tracadie [1] and Misamichy.[2]

Proceeding along this coast you pass many rivers, and come to a place where there is a river called Souricoua,[3] where Monsieur Prévert went in search of a copper mine. They go with their canoes up this river for two or three days, then they go across country for two or three leagues to the said mine, which is hard upon the seashore to the south.[4] At the mouth of the said river, there is an island [5] about a league out to sea ; from this island to isle Percée is some sixty or seventy leagues. Then still following the said coast, which

[1] On the coast half-way between Chaleur bay and Miramichi bay. *Cf.* Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi. 103. By a short portage between Bass river and the Big Tracadie river, this place may be reached from Chaleur bay (Slafter, *op. cit.*). See, however, Ganong, *Additions and Corrections to Monographs on the Place-nomenclature, &c., of New Brunswick* (*Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada*, 2nd ser., XII, 1906, ii. 99), who says, " I have not been able to find any direct tradition or other such evidence for it, aside from the unsupported statement in Slafter's Champlain that such a route existed."

[2] Miramichi is reached by a short passage from the Nepisiguit to the headwaters of the Miramichi river (Slafter, *op. cit.*). *Cf.* Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi. 103.

[3] Possibly Scadouc river, and Petitcodiac or Memramcook river which empties into Cumberland Basin at the head of the Bay of Fundy.

[4] Cape d'Or at Minas Basin.

[5] Possibly Shediac island.

Destroit entre la grande terre & vne isle.

rencontre vn destroit[1] qui peut tenir deux lieues de large, & vingt-cinq de long. Du costé de l'Est est vne isle qui s'appelle sainct Laurens,[2] où est le cap Breton, & où vne nation de Sauuages appellez les Souricois hiuernent. Passant le destroit de l'isle de sainct Laurens, costoyant la coste d'Arcadie,[3] on vient dedãs vne baye[4] qui vient ioindre ladicte mine de cuiure. Allant plus outre, ou trouue vne riuiere[5] qui va quelques soixante ou quatre-vingts lieues dedans[a] les terres, laquelle va proche du lac des Irocois,[6] par où lesdicts Sauuages de la coste d'Arcadie leur vont faire la guerre : Ce

Souricois, et où ils hiuernent.

De la mine de cuiure.

Riuiere à la coste d'Arcadie, allant proche du lac des Irocois.

[a] 1604, *dans.*

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trends toward the east, you meet with a strait,[1] which may be two leagues broad, and five and twenty long. On the east side is an island called St. Lawrence,[2] where lies Cape Breton ; and where a tribe of savages, called the Souriquois, winter. Passing the strait of the island of St. Lawrence, and ranging the coast of Acadia,[3] one enters a bay[4] which comes as far as the said copper mine. Passing farther on one finds a river,[5] which extends some sixty or eighty leagues inland and reaches near to the lake of the Iroquois,[6] along which the said savages of the coast of Acadia go to make war upon them. It would

[1] Gut of Canso fourteen and a half miles long, between Cape Breton Island and the mainland of Nova Scotia. Both length and breadth are overstated.

[2] This name was superseded by Cape Breton, from the cape on the eastern coast.

[3] Champlain spells the name *Arcadie*, in harmony with all the earlier writers and maps. The first appearance of the name is on the Gastaldi map of 1548, where it is given as *Larcadia*. The " r " was first left out in Monts' commission of 1603, in which the name appears as *La Cadie*. Henceforth it always occurs without an " r." Whatever its origin it is clear that it was not a native Micmac name, that language having no " r." (See Ganong, *Place-nomenclature of New Brunswick*, in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada*, 2nd ser., II, 1896, ii. 216; and *Boundaries of New Brunswick*, in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada*, 2nd ser., VII, 1901, ii. 161 ; also 3rd ser., IX, 1915, ii. 439 and XI, 1917, ii. 105.)

[4] Bay of Fundy, called by the first explorers La Baie Française, as in Lescarbot and in Champlain's maps of 1612 (Plate LXXXI) and 1632.

[5] St. John river. [6] Lake Champlain.

seroit vn grand bien qui pourroit trouuer à la coste de la Floride quelque passage qui allast donner proche du susdict grād lac, où l'eau est sallee,[1] tant pour la nauigation des vaisseaux, lesquels ne seroient subiects à tant de perils comme ils sont en Canadas, que pour l'accourcissement du chemin
Fol. 30v. de plus de trois cens lieues. Et est tres-certain qu'il y a des riuieres en la coste de la Floride que l'on n'a point encores descouuertes, lesquelles vōt dans les terres, où le pays y est tres-bon & fertille, & de fort bōs ports. Le pays & coste de la Floride peut auoir vn autre temperature de temps, plus fertille en quantité de fruicts, & autres choses que celuy que i'ay veu : mais il ne peut y auoir des terres plus vnies ny meilleures que celles que nous auons veuës. Les Sauuages disent qu'en ladite grand baye de Chaleurs il y a vne riuiere[2] qui va quelques vingt lieues dans les terres, où au bout est vn lac[3] qui peut contenir quelques vingt lieues, auquel il y

Rapport fait des Sauuages d'vne riuiere qui va dans les terres, où au bout de laquelle il se trouue vne maniere de metail.

be a great boon if there might be found on the coast of Florida a passage which should lead near to the great lake beforementioned, where the water is salt ;[1] as well for the navigation of ships, which would not be subject to so many perils as they are in Canada, as for the shortening of the way more than three hundred leagues. And it is most certain that on the coast of Florida there are rivers not yet discovered, which reach the interior, where the soil is very good and fertile, and very good harbours. The country and coast of Florida may have a different climate, and be more abundantly productive of fruits and other things than that which I have seen; but there cannot be lands more level nor of better quality than those which we have seen.

The savages say, that in the said great Chaleur bay is a river,[2] extending some twenty leagues inland, at the head of which there is a lake,[3] which may be some twenty leagues long

[1] Lake Erie. *Cf.* pp. 155 and 163 *supra*.

[2] Probably the Metapedia river which empties into the Restigouche (Laverdière, *op. cit.*, ii. 52).

[3] Metapedia lake.

a fort peu d'eau, qu'en Esté il asseiche, auquel ils trouuent dans la terre, enuiron vn pied ou pied & demy vne maniere de metail qui ressemble à de l'argent que ie leur auois monstré, & qu'en vn autre lieu proche dudit lac il y a vne mine de cuiure. Voilà ce que i'ay appris desdicts Sauuages.

Retour de l'Isle percee à Tadousac, auec la description des ances, ports, riuieres, isles, rochers, saults,[1] *bayes, & basses, qui sont le long de la coste du Nort.* Fol. 31.

CHAP. XI.

Partement de l'isle perçee.

Tourmente.

NOUS partismes de l'isle perçee le dix-neufiesme dudict mois pour retourner à Tadousac : Comme nous fusmes à quelque trois lieuës du Cap l'Euesque[2] nous fusmes contrariez d'vne tourmente laquelle dura deux iours, qui nous fit relascher dedans vne grande anse en

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and in which there is very little water ; and that in summer it dries up, when they find in it, about a foot or a foot and a half under the ground, a kind of metal resembling the silver which I showed them ; and that in another place near the said lake there is a copper mine. And this is what I learned from these savages.

CHAPTER XI

Return from Isle Percée to Tadoussac, with the description of the coves, harbours, rivers, islands, rocks, waterfalls,[1] bays, and shallows along the north shore.

WE set out from isle Percée on the nineteenth of the said month to return to Tadoussac. When we were some three leagues from cape Bishop,[2] we encountered a storm which lasted two days ; and this forced us to put into a great creek, and wait for fair weather.

[1] The original has *ponts*, which makes no sense. In the Table of Chapters and in the 1604 edition, the word is *saults*, which harmonises with the actual account in the chapter of what he saw.

[2] Cap à l'Evesque, probably Fame Point. It is marked on Champlain's map of 1612 (Plate LXXXI), with Le Grand Étang to the west of it.

attendant le beau temps. Le lendemain nous en partismes & fusmes encores contrariez d'vne autre tourmente : Ne voullant relascher, & pensant gaigner chemin nous fusmes à la coste du Nort le 28. iour de Iuillet mouiller l'ancre à vne ance qui est fort mauuaise, à cause des bancs de Rochers qu'il y a ; ceste ance est par les 51. degrés & quelques minutes.[1] Le lendemain nous vinsmes mouiller l'ancre proche d'vne riuiere qui s'appelle saincte Marguerite, où il y a de plaine mer quelque trois brasses d'eau, & brasse & demye de basse mer ; elle va assez auant. A ce que i'ay veu dans terre du costé de l'Est, il y a vn sault d'eau qui entre dans ladicte Riuiere, & vient de quelque cinquante ou soixante brasses de haut, d'où procede la plus grand part de l'eau qui dessend dedans :[2] A son entree il y a vn banc de sable, où il peut auoir de basse eau

Autre tourmente.

Coste du Nort où nous relaschasmes.

De la riuiere Saincte Marguerite.

Fol. 31v.

The day following we set out from there, and again encountered another storm. Being loath to put into port, and thinking to make headway, we proceeded to the north shore on the twenty-eighth day of July, and cast anchor in a cove which is a very bad place, because of the rocky reefs there. This cove is in latitude 51° and some minutes.[1]

The next day we anchored near a river, called St. Margaret river, where at high tide there is some three fathoms of water, and a fathom and a half at low tide ; this river goes pretty far into the interior. By what I saw inland on the east shore, there is a fall of water which enters the said river, descending from a height of some fifty or sixty fathoms, whence comes the greater part of the water which forms its current.[2] At its mouth there is a sand-bank, on which at the

[1] Conjectured by Laverdière to be Moisie bay; but Slafter considers it more probable that they entered a cove somewhere among the Seven Islands, perhaps near the west channel to the Seven Islands bay, between pointe Croix and pointe Chassé, where they might have found good anchorage and a rocky shore. The true latitude must be about 50° 9′, for the latitude given by Champlain is that of the approach to the strait of Belle Isle, about 400 miles to the east of the St. Margaret river, which he mentions in his next day's itinerary.

[2] There is a waterfall of seventy-five feet three and a quarter miles up the St. Margaret river.

Coste sablonneuse.

demy brasse. Toute la coste du costé de l'Est est sable mouuant, où il y a vne poincte [1] à quelque demye lieuë de ladicte Riuiere qui aduance vne demye lieuë en la mer : & du costé de l'Ouest, il y a vne petite isle ; cedict lieu est par les 50. degrez. Toutes ces terres sont tres-mauuaises, rẽplies de sapins : la terre y est quelque peu haute, mais non tant que celle du Su. A quelques trois lieües de là nous passames proche d'vne autre riuiere [2] laquelle sembloit estre fort grande, barree neantmoins la pluspart de rochers. A quelque 8. lieuës de là il y a vne poincte [3] qui aduance vne

Terres mauuaises.

Riuiere.

D'vne pointe qui auance à la mer.

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ebb there may be half a fathom of water. All the coast toward the east is shifting sand ; there is a point [1] some half a league from the said river, projecting half a league out into the sea ; and toward the west there is a small island. This place is in latitude 50°. All this region is very poor soil, and covered with fir-trees. The land there is somewhat high, but not so high as that on the south side.

Some three leagues beyond we passed near another river,[2] which seemed to be very large, yet barred at the mouth for the most part with rocks. Some eight leagues farther there is a point [3] projecting a league and a half into the sea, where

[1] Laverdière thinks that the peninsula called pointe à la Croix is meant, which is six miles or more to the east of the river, and he suggests a printer's misreading by which Champlain's *deux lieues* would have been converted into *demie lieue* in the present text. The little island mentioned, to the west of the river, no longer exists. It may have been joined to the mainland by shifting sands and may constitute the present peninsula on the western shore. [2] Rock river, in lat. 50° 2′.

[3] Pointe des Monts. Laverdière states that there is no headland between Rock river and pointe des Monts which suits the description so well, although pointe des Monts is eighteen leagues from Rock river. Champlain may have been deceived by the strong current into underestimating the distance. Rouillard, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec*, iv. 38, shows that this is the correct form of this name, representing the name Monts Pelés applied by eighteenth-century cartographers to this cape. This original form has been assimilated to the name of the Sieur de Monts, in honour of whom Champlain is erroneously supposed to have named it.

lieue & demye à la mer, où il n'y a que brasse & demye d'eau. Passé ceste pointe il s'en trouue vne autre à quelque 4. lieues, où il y a assez d'eau.[1] Toute ceste coste est terre basse & sablonneuse. A quelque 4. lieues de là il y a vne ance où entre vne Riuiere;[2] il y peut aller beaucoup de vaisseaux du costé de l'Ouest; c'est vne pointe basse qui aduance enuiron d'vne lieue en la mer; il faut renger la terre de l'Est[3] comme de trois cens pas pour pouuoir entrer dedans. Voylà le meilleur port qui est en toute la coste du Nort, mais il y fait fort dangereux y aller pour les basses & bācs de sable qu'il y a en la pluspart de la coste pres de deux lieues à la mer. On trouue à quelque six lieues de là vne baye,[4] où il y a vne isle de sable; toute ladite baye est fort baturiere, si ce n'est du costé de l'Est, où il peut auoir quelque 4. brasse d'eau:

D'vne autre pointe.

D'vne bonne ance où il peut quantité de vaisseaux.

Fol. 32.

Baye.

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there is only a fathom and a half of water. Past this point there is another about four leagues off, where there is water enough.[1] All this coast is low and sandy. Some four leagues farther on there is a creek where a river[2] enters. On the west side there is room for many ships. There is a low point, running out about a league into the sea. One must skirt the eastern[3] shore for about three hundred paces to be able to make an entrance. This is the best harbour along the whole of the north shore; but it is very dangerous to approach, because of the shoals and sand-banks, which lie all along the greater part of the coast, almost two leagues out to sea. About six leagues from here is a bay[4] where there is a sandy island. All this bay is very shoal, except on the east side, where there may be about four fathoms of water.

[1] Point St. Nicholas. The distance given is again far too great.

[2] Manikuagan river. The distance is still too great, but the description identifies it.

[3] Properly "northern," but with reference to the general course of the river it may be considered eastern (Laverdière).

[4] Outarde bay. The island has disappeared. The fall is laid down in Bayfield's chart (Slafter, *op. cit.*).

Ance.

Coste sablonneuse.

dans le canal qui entre dans ladite baye à quelque 4. lieues de là, il y a vne belle ance où entre vne Riuiere. Toute ceste coste est basse & sablonneuse; il y dessend vn sault d'eau qui est grand. A quelque cinq lieues de là, il y a vne pointe [1] qui aduance enuiron demye lieue en la mer où il y a vne ance; & d'vne poincte à l'autre y a trois lieues; mais ce n'est que battures où il y a peu d'eau. A quelques deux lieues il y a vne plage où il y a vn bon port, & vne petite Riuiere, où il y a trois isles,[2] & où des vaisseaux se pourroient mettre à l'abry. A quelque trois lieues de là il y a vne pointe de sable [3] qui aduance enuiron vne lieue, où au bout il y a vn petit islet. Puis allant à Lesquemin vous rencontrez 2. Fol. 32v.

D'vne pointe qui aduance à la mer.

Within the channel which enters the bay, some four leagues up, there is a fine cove into which a river empties. All this coast is low and sandy. A large fall of water comes down there. About five leagues farther is a point [1] projecting about half a league into the sea, where there is a cove, and from the one point to the other is three leagues, but it is nothing but shoals, with little water. About two leagues off, there is a beach where there is a good harbour, and a small river, and in it are three islands,[2] and ships may take shelter there.

Some three leagues beyond there is a sandy point [3] running out about a league, at the end of which there is a little islet. Then going forward towards Escoumains you come

[1] Bersimis point. The five leagues mentioned as the distance must be reckoned as beginning from the mouth of the Outarde river inside the bay formed by Outarde point, for, as the author himself notes farther on, it is not much more than three leagues from the one point to the other (Laverdière, *op. cit.*).

[2] Jeremy island. Bellin in 1764 lays down three islands, but Bayfield in 1834 has only one. Two have been swept away or united with the third (Slafter, *op. cit.*).

[3] Point Colombier, as the distance and the islet indicate. Laverdière suggested Mille Vaches, although the distance is three times too great.

petites isles basses, & vn petit rocher à terre.[1] Cesdictes isles sont enuiron à demie lieue de Lesquemin,[2] qui est vn fort mauuais port, entourné[a] de rochers, & asseche de basse mer, & faut variser[b] pour entrer dedans au derriere d'vne petite poincte de rocher, où il n'y peut qu'vn vaisseau. Vn peu plus haut, il y a vne Riuiere[3] qui va quelque peu dans les terres : c'est le lieu où les Basques font la pesche des ballaines. Pour dire verité le port ne vaut du tout rien. Nous vinsmes de là audict port de Tadousac le troisiesme d'Aoust. Toutes cesdictes terres cy dessus sont basses à la coste, & dans les terres fort hautes. Ils ne sont si plaisantes ny fertilles que celles du Su, bien qu'elles soient plus basses. Voilà au certain tout ce que i'ay veu de cestedicte coste du Nort.

De deux isles.

Port de Lesquemain.

Riuiere.

Arriuee d Tadousac.

[a] Entouré. [b] Louvoyer.

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to two small low islands and a little rock in shore.[1] These islands are about half a league from Escoumains,[2] which is a very bad harbour, surrounded by rocks, and dry at low tide; and in order to make an entrance one must go about behind a little rocky point, where there is room for only one ship at a time. A little higher up there is a river,[3] which extends a little way inland; this is the place where the Basques fish for whales. To tell the truth, the harbour is of no value at all.

We came thence to the aforesaid harbour of Tadoussac, on the third of August. All this region above-mentioned is low along the shore, and in the interior very high. It is neither so pretty nor so fertile as that on the south, although it is lower ground. And this is an exact report of all I have seen of this northern coast.

[1] Esquamine islets. [2] Escoumains river.
[3] About three miles up stream from Escoumains is Basque cove.

Les ceremonies que font les Sauuages deuant que d'aller à la guerre : Des Sauuages Almouchicois, & de leur monstrueuse forme. Discours du sieur de Preuert de sainct Malo, sur la descouuerture de la coste d'Arcadie, quelles mines il y a, & de la bonté & fertilité du pays. Fol. 33.

CHAP. XII.

Sauuages que nous trouuasmes reuenans de la guerre, lesquels nous auions rencôtré à la riuiere des Irocois.

Sauuages couppent la teste à leurs ennemis.

ARRIUANT à Tadousac nous trouuasmes les Sauuages que nous auions rencontrez en la riuiere des Irocois,[1] qui auoient faict rencontre au premier lac,[2] de trois Canots Irocois, lesquels se battirēt contre dix autres de Montaignez, & apporterent les testes des Irocois à Tadousac, & n'y eust qu'vn Montaignez blessé au bras d'vn coup de fleche, lequel songeant quelque chose, il falloit que tous les 10. autres le meissent en executiō pour le rendre content, croyant aussi que sa playe s'en doit mieux porter. Si cedict

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CHAPTER XII

The ceremonies of the savages before going to war. Of the Almouchiquois savages and their monstrous shape. Narrative of the Sieur de Prévert of St. Malo, on the exploration of the coast of Acadia; what mines are there, and of the excellence and fertility of that country.

ON our arrival at Tadoussac, we found the savages whom we had met in the river of the Iroquois;[1] they had had an encounter at the first lake[2] with three canoes of Iroquois who fought against ten of the Montagnais; and they brought the heads of the Iroquois to Tadoussac. There was but one Montagnais wounded in the arm by an arrow; and when he had a dream, all the rest of the ten had to carry it into effect to satisfy him, thinking moreover that his wound would thereby get better. If this savage

[1] River Richelieu. See *supra*, chap. vii. p. 141.
[2] Lake Champlain. See p. 143 *supra*.

Sauuage meurt, ses parens vengeront sa mort, soit sur leur nation, ou sur d'autres, ou bien il faut que les Capitaines facent des presens aux parens du deffunct, à fin qu'ils soient contens, ou autrement, comme i'ay dit, ils vseroient de vengeance, qui est vne grande meschanceté entre eux. Premier
Fol. 33v. que lesdits Mõtaignez partissent pour aller à la guerre, ils s'assemblerent tous, auec leurs plus riches habits de fourreures, castors, & autres peaux, parez de Patenostres & cordons de diuerses couleurs, & s'assemblerent dedans vne grand'place publicque, où il y auoit au deuãt d'eux vn Sagamo qui s'appelloit Begourat, qui les menoit à la guerre, & estoient les vns derriere les autres, auec leurs arcs & flesches, massuës, & rondelles dequoy ils se parent pour se batre : & alloient sautant les vns apres les autres, en faisant plusieurs gestes de leurs corps ils faisoient maints tours de limaçon :[1] apres ils

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should die, his kinsmen will revenge his death, either upon their own tribe or upon others, or else the captains must give presents to the kinsmen of the dead, in order to content them ; otherwise, as I have said, they would take revenge, which is a great fault among them.

Before these Montagnais set out on the war-path, they all collected, with their richest fur garments of beaver and other skins, adorned with beads and cords of various colours, and assembled in a large public square, where at their head was a Sagamore named Begourat, who used to lead them to war ; and they marched one behind the other, with their bows and arrows, clubs and round shields, with which they equip themselves for fighting. And they went leaping one after the other, striking attitudes with their bodies, and executed many turns and twists like soldiers casting themselves into a ring.[1] Afterwards they began to

[1] The expression *tour de limaçon* was the term employed in Champlain's time for a military formation (see Cotgrave's Dictionary, *sub voce, limaçonner*).

commencerent à danser à la façon accoustumee, comme i'ay dit cy dessus ;[1] puis ils feirent leur Tabagie,[2] & apres l'auoir faict, les femmes se despouillerent toutes nues, parees de leurs plus beaux Matachias, & se meirent dedans leurs canots ainsi nues en dansant, & puis elles se vindrent mettre à l'eau en se battant à coups de leurs auirons, se iettans quantité d'eau les vnes sur les autres : toutesfois elles ne se faisoient point de mal, car elles se paroient des coups qu'elles s'entre-ruoient : Apres auoir faict toutes ces ceremonies, elles se retirerent en leurs cabannes, & les Sauuages s'en allerent à la guerre contre les Irocois. Le seiziesme iour d'Aoust, nous Fol. 34. partismes de Tadousac, & le 18. dudit mois arriuasmes à l'isle percee,[3] où nous trouuasmes le sieur Preuert[4] de sainct Malo, qui venoit de la mine où il auoit esté auec beaucoup de peine pour la crainte que les Sauuages auoient de faire rencontre de

Partement de Tadousac.

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dance in their accustomed manner, as I have described above;[1] then they held their *tabagie*,[2] and after they had finished, the women stripped themselves stark naked, being decked with their finest matachias, and thus naked and dancing got into their canoes, and then they put out upon the water, and struck at one another with their paddles, splashing a quantity of water over one another. Yet they did themselves no harm, for they warded off the blows which they struck at one another. Having ended all these ceremonies, they withdrew into their lodges, and the savages went off to war against the Iroquois.

On the sixteenth day of August we set out from Tadoussac, and on the eighteenth of the said month arrived at isle Percée,[3] where we found the Sieur Prévert[4] of St. Malo, who was on his way from the mine, where he had gone with much trouble, for the fear which the savages had of meeting their

[1] See *supra*, pp. 102 and 108. [2] Or feast. See *supra*, chap. ii. p. 99.
[3] See p. 167, *supra*, note 3.
[4] Jean Sarcel, seigneur de Prévert, of St. Malo, had long traded to Canada (*cf.* Biggar's *Early Trading Companies*, 47, note 1 ; Toronto, 1901).

leurs ennemis qui sont les Armouchicois, lesquels sont hommes Sauuages du tout monstrueux pour la forme qu'ils ont : car leur teste est petite, & le corps court, les bras menus comme d'vn schelet, & les cuisses semblablement : les iambes grosses & longues, qui sont toutes d'vne venue, & quād ils sont assis sur leurs talons, les genoux leur passent plus d'vn demy pied par dessus la teste, qui est chose estrange, & semblent estre hors de nature : Ils sont neantmoins fort dispos, & determinez : & sont aux meilleures terres de toute la coste d'Arcadie :[1] Aussi les Souricois les craignent fort. Mais auec l'asseurāce que ledit Sieur de Preuert leur donna, il les mena iusques à ladite mine, où les Sauuages le guiderēt :[2] C'est vne fort haute montaigne, aduāçant quelque peu sur la mer,

Sauuages Armouchicois.

Discours que m'a faict le Sieur Preuert de S. Malo, sur la descouuerture de la coste d'Arcadie.

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enemies, the Armouchiquois, who are savages of quite monstrous shape : for their head is small and their body short, their arms and likewise their thighs slender like those of a skeleton, their legs thick and long, and of the same size all the way down ; and when they sit upon their heels, their knees are higher by half a foot than their head, which is a strange thing, and they seem to be out of the course of nature. Nevertheless, they are very agile and resolute, and are settled in the best land of all the coast of Acadia ;[1] hence the Souriquois fear them greatly. But with the confidence which the said Sieur de Prévert gave them, he brought them as far as the said mine, to which the savages guided him.[2] It is a very high mountain, jutting out somewhat into the sea,

[1] This extent corresponds with the charter given to Monts which covered territory from lat. 40° to 46°. The charter was obtained in the autumn of this year, 1603, before the account of this voyage was printed (Slafter, *op. cit.*).

[2] Prévert did not make this exploration personally, although he pretended that he did. He sent some of his men with Secoudon, the chief. His report is, therefore, second-hand, confused and inaccurate. Champlain exposes Prévert in a subsequent reference to him (see *infra*, chap. iii. pp. 261-262) (Slafter, *op. cit.*). The locality was undoubtedly cape d'Or (formerly Doré), at the mouth of Minas Channel. The cape derives its name from the native copper which is found there in small quantities.

Verd de gris en quantité.

Cuiure en quantité.

D'vne autre mine.

Peinture noire.

Vne isle où il y a d'vne maniere d'autre metail.

qui est fort reluisante au Soleil, où il y a quantité de verd de gris qui procede de ladite mine de cuiure. Au pied de ladite Fol. 34v. montaigne, il dict, que de basse eau y auoit en quantité de[s] morceaux de cuiure, comme il nous en a[a] monstré, lequel tombe du haut de la montaigne. Passans trois ou quatre lieues plus outre tirant à la coste d'Arcadie, il y a vne autre mine, & vne petite riuiere qui va quelque peu dans les terres, tirant au Su, où il y a vne montaigne qui est d'vne peinture noire, dequoy se peignent les Sauuages :[1] puis à quelque six lieues de la seconde mine, en tirant à la mer enuiron vne lieue proche de la coste d'Arcadie, il y a vne isle[2] où se trouue vne maniere de metail qui est cōme brun obscur, le couppant il est blanc, dont anciēnement ils vsoient pour leurs fleches, & cousteaux, qu'ils battoiēt auec des pierres, ce qui me faict croire, que ce n'est estain, ny plomb, estant si dur cōme il est ; & leur ayant monstré de l'argent, ils dirent que celuy de

[a] 1604, *il nous a esté.*

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and glitters brightly in the sunlight; it contains a large quantity of verdigris which issues out of the said copper mine. He said that at the foot of this mountain at low water there were quantities of pieces of copper, such as he showed us, which fall from the top of the mountain. Some three or four leagues farther along the coast of Acadia, there is another mine, and a small river which extends some little way inland, towards the south, where there is a mountain of a black pigment, with which the savages paint themselves.[1] Then some six leagues from the second mine toward the sea, about a league off the coast of Acadia, lies an island[2] on which is found a kind of metal, of a dark brown colour, but white when cut, which formerly they used for their arrows and knives, and beat out with stones. This makes me think that it is not tin, nor lead, being so hard as it is; and when I showed them silver, they said that the metal from the said

[1] Pugwash river leading to Cobequid mountain (?). [2] Pictou island (?).

ladite isle est semblable, lequel ils trouuent dedans la terre, comme à vn pied ou deux. Ledict Sieur Preuert a donné aux Sauuages des coins & cizeaux, & autres choses necessaires pour tirer de ladicte mine, ce qu'ils ont promis de faire, & l'annee qui vient d'en apporter, & le donner audict sieur Preuert.

Fol. 35. Ils disent aussi qu'à quelques cent ou 120. lieües, il y a d'autres mines, mais ils n'osent y aller, s'il n'y a des François parmy eux pour faire la guerre à leurs ennemis qui la tiennent en leur possession. Cedict lieu où est la mine qui est par les 44. degrez & quelque minutte [1] proche de ladicte coste de l'Arcadie, comme de cinq ou six lieues, c'est vne maniere de baye, qui en son entree peut tenir quelques lieues de large, & quelque peu d'auantage de long, où il y a trois Riuieres qui viennent tomber en la grand' Baye [2] proche de l'isle de sainct Iean,[3] qui

Autres mines.

Description du lieu où est ladite mine.

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island was similar, and they find it in the earth about a foot or two deep. The said Sieur Prévert gave the savages wedges and chisels and other things necessary to extract ore from the said mine; which they have promised to do, and next year to bring some of it and give it to the said Sieur Prévert.

They say also that at some hundred or hundred and twenty leagues are other mines, but that they dare not go thither unless they have Frenchmen with them to make war upon their enemies, who have the mine in their possession.

This place where the mine is, which is in latitude 44° and some few minutes, about five or six leagues from the coast of Acadia, is a kind of bay,[1] several leagues broad at its mouth, and somewhat more in length, where there are three rivers which fall into the Great bay,[2] near the island of Saint John,[3]

[1] Minas Basin lies in about lat. 45° 20′.

[2] These three rivers falling into the Gulf of St. Lawrence (here called the Great bay) would be possibly the rivers Frederick, Des Barres and John, or the three emptying into Pictou harbour, called West, Middle and East rivers.

[3] Prince Edward Island, 150 miles long and thirty miles or more from the mainland. It is not shown at all on Lescarbot's map, and on Champlain's map of 1612, Plate LXXXI, it appears as a small round island. It first assumes its proper proportions on his map of 1632.

a quelques trente ou trente cinq lieues de long, & à quelque six lieues de la terre du Su. Il y a aussi vne autre petite Riuiere qui va tomber comme à moitié chemin de celle par où reuint ledict sieur Preuert, où sont cōme deux manieres de lacs en ceste-dicte Riuiere.[1] Plus y a aussi vne autre petite Riuiere qui va à la painture :[2] toutes ces Riuieres tombent en ladicte Baye[3] au Su-est, enuiron de ladicte isle que lesdits Sauuages disent y auoir de ceste mine blanche.[4] Au costé du Nort de ladicte baye sont les mines de cuiure, où il y a bon port pour des vaisseaux, & vne petite isle à l'entree du port; le fonds est vase & sable, où l'on peut eschoüer les vaisseaux.[5] Fol. 35v. De ladicte mine iusques au commencement de l'entree desdictes Riuieres, il y a quelque 60. ou 80. lieues par terre : Mais du costé de la mer, selon mon iugement, depuis la sortie

Bon port pour les vaisseaux.

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which is thirty or thirty-five leagues long, and some six leagues distant from the land to the south. There is also another small river, which empties about half-way from that by which the Sieur Prévert returned, and there are two lake-like expanses in the said river.[1] Furthermore, there is yet another small river which extends toward the mountain of pigment.[2] All these rivers fall into the said bay[3] about south-east of the island, where the savages say there is this mine of white metal.[4] On the north side of the said bay are the copper mines, where there is a good harbour for ships, and a small island at the mouth of the harbour[5]; the bottom is ooze and sand, where a ship may be run ashore.

From this mine to the beginning of the mouth of the said rivers, it is some sixty or eighty leagues over land. But along the sea coast, according to my judgment, from the passage

[1] If Prévert returned by the Scadouc, this river would be the Miramichi, from which there is a portage to the Nashwaak and to the St. John.

[2] *Cf.* p. 182, *supra*, where this is identified with Pugwash river.

[3] The Great Bay or Gulf of St. Lawrence.

[4] Pictou island.

[5] This description would suit the entrance to Minas Channel, with Haute island and Advocate harbour, just outside of cape d'Or.

de l'isle de S. Laurens & terre ferme, il ne peut y auoir plus de 50. ou 60. lieues iusques à ladicte mine.[1] Tout ce païs est tres-beau, & plat, où il y a de toutes les sortes d'arbres que nous auons veues allant au premier sault de la grande Riuiere de Canadas, fort peu de sapins & cyprez. Voylà au certain ce que i'ay apprins & ouy dire audit sieur Preuert. *Bon païs.*

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between the island of Saint Lawrence and the mainland, it may be upwards of fifty or sixty leagues to the said mine.[1]

All this country is very beautiful and flat, and in it are all the kinds of trees, which we saw as we went to the first rapid of the great river of Canada, but very few fir-trees and cypresses.

This is an exact statement of what I learned and heard from the said Sieur Prévert.

[1] That is, from the Gut of Canso and Cape Breton Island round the coast of Nova Scotia to Minas Basin. The real distance round the coast of Nova Scotia would be three times as great as this estimate. All this description is from hearsay and full of errors.

D'vn monstre espouuantable que les Sauuages appellent Gougou, & de nostre bref & heureux retour en France.

CHAP. XIII.

IL y a encore vne chose estrange digne de reciter, que plusieurs Sauuages m'ōt asseuré estre vray ; C'est que proche de la baye de Chaleurs tirant au Su, est vne isle, où fait residence vn monstre espouuantable, que les Sauuages appellent *Gougou*,[1] & m'ont dit qu'il auoit la forme d'vne femme : mais fort effroyable, & d'vne telle grandeur, qu'ils me disoient que le bout des mats de nostre vaisseau ne luy fust pas venu iusques à la ceinture, tant ils le peignent grand : & que souuent il a deuoré & deuore, beaucoup de Sauuages, Fol. 36. lesquels il met dedans vne grande poche quant il les peut attraper & puis les mange : & disoient ceux qui auoient esuité le peril de ceste malheureuse beste, que sa poche estoit si

Monstre espouuantable.

CHAPTER XIII

Of a frightful monster, which the savages call Gougou, and of our short and favourable passage back to France.

THERE is another strange thing worthy of narration, which many savages have assured me was true ; this is, that near Chaleur bay, towards the south, lies an island where makes his abode a dreadful monster, which the savages call *Gougou*.[1] They told me it had the form of a woman, but most hideous, and of such a size that according to them the tops of the masts of our vessel would not reach his waist, so big do they represent him ; and they say that he has often devoured and still devours many savages ; these he puts, when he can catch them, into a great pocket, and afterwards eats them ; and those who had escaped the danger of this ill-omened beast said that his pocket was so

[1] The *Kuhkw* of Micmac legends, a personification of earthquake (see Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, 234, New York, 1894).

grande, qu'il y eust peu mettre nostre vaisseau : Ce monstre fait des bruits horribles dedans ceste isle, que les Sauuages appellent le Gougou : Et quand ils en parlent ce n'est que auec vne peur si estrange, qu'il ne se peut dire de plus, & m'ont asseuré plusieurs l'auoir veu : Mesme ledit sieur Preuert de sainct Malo en allant à la descouuerture des mines, ainsi que nous auons dit au chapitre precedēt, m'a dit auoir passé si proche de la demeure de ceste effroyable beste, que luy & tous ceux de son vaisseau entendoient des sifflements estranges du bruit qu'elle faisoit : & que les Sauuages qu'il auoit auec luy, luy dirent, que c'estoit la mesme beste, & auoiēt vne telle peur, qu'ils se cachoient de toutes parts, craignant qu'elle fust venüe à eux pour les emporter : & qui me faict croire ce qu'ils disent : C'est que tous les Sauuages en general la craignent & en parlent si estrangement, que si ie mettois tout ce qu'ils en disent, l'on le tiendroit pour fables : Fol. 36v. mais ie tiens que ce soit la residēce de quelque Diable qui les

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large that he could have put our vessel into it. This monster, which the savages call the Gougou, makes horrible noises in that island, and when they speak of him it is with unutterably strange terror, and many have assured me that they have seen him. Even the above-mentioned Sieur Prevert from St. Malo told me that, while going in search of mines, as we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, he passed so near the haunt of this frightful beast, that he and all those on board his vessel heard strange hissings from the noise it made, and that the savages he had with him told him it was the same creature, and were so afraid that they hid themselves wherever they could, for fear it should come to carry them off. And what makes me believe what they say, is the fact that all the savages in general fear it, and tell such strange stories of it that, if I were to record all they say, it would be considered untrue ; but I hold that this is the dwelling-place of some

tourmēte de la façon. Voilà ce que i'ay apprins de ce Gougou. Premier que partir de Tadousac, pour nous en retourner en France, vn des Sagamoz des Montagnez nōmé Bechourat,[1] donna son fils au sieur du Pont pour l'emmener [a] en Frāce, & luy fut fort recōmandé par le grand Sagamo Anadabijou,[2] le priant de le bien traiter, & luy faire voir ce que les autres deux Sauuages que nous auiōs remenez, auoiēt veu.[3] Nous leur demandasmes vne femme des Irocois qu'ils vouloient manger, laquelle ils nous dōnerent, & l'auons aussi amenée auec ledit Sauuage. Le sieur de Preuert a aussi amené quatre Sauuages : Vn hōme, qui est de la coste d'Arcadie, vne femme & deux enfans des Canadiens.[4] Le 24. iour d'Aoust nous partismes de Gachepay, le vaisseau dudit sieur Preuert

[a] 1604, *l'amener.*

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devil that torments them in the manner described. This is what I have learned about this Gougou.

Before we set out from Tadoussac to return to France, one of the Sagamores of the Montagnais, named Bechourat,[1] gave to the Sieur du Pont his son to take with him to France, being well recommended to him by the great Sagamore Anadabijou,[2] who prayed him to use him well, and to let him see what the other two savages had seen whom we had brought back.[3] We asked them for an Iroquois woman, whom they were intending to eat; and they gave her to us, and we brought her also home with the aforesaid savage. The Sieur de Prévert in like manner brought along four savages, a man from the coast of Acadia, a woman and two children from the Canadians.[4]

On the twenty-fourth day of August, we set out from Gaspé, the said Sieur Prévert's ship and ours. The second

[1] Probably the same as Begourat, mentioned on p. 179. The letters "ch" and "g" could be easily mistaken one for the other in transcribing the handwriting of Champlain (Laverdière, *op. cit.*, ii. 62). The name is perhaps a title, for on page 108 a Sagamore of the Algonquins is called Besouat, no doubt the same word.

[2] See *supra*, chap. ii. p. 99.

[3] See *supra*, chap. ii. pp. 99-100.

[4] The Montagnais.

& le nostre ; le 2. iour de Septembre nous faisions estat d'estre aussi auāt q̄ le Cap de rase. Le 5. iour dudit mois nous entrasmes sur le banc où ce fait la pesche du poisson. Le 16. dudict mois nous estions à la sonde, qui peut estre à quelque 50. lieues d'Ouessant.[1] Le 20. dudit mois nous arriuasmes par la grace de Dieu auec contentement d'vn chacun & tousiours le vent fauorable au port du Haure de Grace.[2]

FIN

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day of September we reckoned we were as far as cape Race. On the fifth day of the same month we entered upon the Bank, where the fishing is carried on. On the sixteenth we were on soundings, which may be some fifty leagues from Ushant.[1] On the twentieth of the said month we arrived, by God's grace and to the joy of all, and with a constantly favourable wind, at the port of Havre de Grace.[2]

THE END

[1] An island off the coast of Brittany. See chap. i. p. 92, *supra.*

[2] Havre, or Havre-de-Grace, at the mouth of the Seine estuary on the north shore. The harbour was less liable to obstruction from shifting sands than that of Honfleur on the south. See p. 91 note 1. These voyages brought a return of from thirty per cent. to forty per cent. See Ch. and P. Bréard, *Documents relatifs à la marine normande,* 88-100. Rouen, 1889.

PART III

BOOK I

ACADIA AND NEW ENGLAND

1604-1607

translated and edited by

W. F. GANONG

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

In the years 1604-1607 the French renewed their attempts to colonise New France, and with their expeditions, under Monts and Poutrincourt, went as official geographer Champlain. In this capacity he explored and mapped the Atlantic coast from Cape Breton to southern Massachusetts. The systematic record of his observations, together with his maps and a narrative of events there during those years, constitute the work now before us.

In the historical literature of Eastern Canada, this first book of Champlain's *Voyages* stands pre-eminent. It narrates, with all the authority of a leading participant and the matter-of-fact accuracy of an official report, the more important events which heralded the dawn of the history of that region. As a narrative it is not unique; for the same events are described also in Lescarbot's well-known work, which preceded Champlain's book by four years. Of the two, however, Champlain's must always rank as the greater in authority and interest, if inferior in the literary graces. But while to us Champlain's book appeals principally as history, it had a different interest to his contemporaries, who valued it most for its cartography, in which respect it had neither peer nor competitor. Prior to Champlain the Atlantic coasts of Canada and New England were known to Europeans only through the loosely written narratives and conventional maps of the earlier explorers, none of which bore any really definite relation to the region they professed to describe. In their place Champlain presented accurate descriptions of the coasts drawn up in the spirit of the modern *Coast Pilots*

and *Sailing Directions*, with maps based upon genuine surveys made by methods correct in principle, even though necessarily crude in application. His maps are thus the prototypes of our own, which surpass his in technique but not in conception. Such at least is the case as regards Eastern Canada. In New England his work was for all practical purposes lost, being overlooked in the new trend given to the affairs of that country through its subsequent settlement by the English, who naturally began its exploration afresh. It is only in our day that Champlain's work in New England has become known and appreciated.

Champlain's maps of Acadia and New England consist of three of a general character, thirteen special charts of important harbours, and three associated picture plans.

The most important of the larger maps is that of 1607, here published for the first time from the original manuscript.[1] This precious map was formerly in the possession of the late M. Gabriel Marcel, who realised its importance and described it accurately.[2] From him it was purchased by the late Henry Harrisse, who bequeathed it to the Library of Congress at Washington, where it now rests. We are indebted to the kind interest of the Librarian of Congress, Mr. Herbert Putnam, for permission to reproduce this map in this volume. Its title is, *Description of the coasts, ports, roadsteads, and islands of New France, drawn according to the true meridian, with the magnetic declination in several places after the method set forth by the Sieur de Castelfranc in his book on the measurement of magnetic declination.*[3] *Drawn, and the observations made by the Sieur de Champlain*, 1607. This copy, drawn on parchment, seems indubitably an autograph in Champlain's own hand; for the writing in the title, as also that elsewhere on the map, gives Champlain's name in a handwriting identical

[1] See Plate LXXX, in the portfolio.

[2] *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, 1885, 6.

[3] M. Marcel (*op. cit.*) gives further information about Castelfranc and his book, as does also Laverdière (*Œuvres de Champlain*, iii. 270).

with his known signature. In all probability it was drawn at Port Royal in the winter of 1606-7, after Champlain's return from his third New England voyage, for it does not include any part of the coast east of La Have, which he explored in the summer of 1607. The circumstances imply and accord with the supposition that it was drawn for presentation to Henri IV. in illustration of a report on the explorations to that date, and was intended to be sent to France by the ship of 1607, which, alas, carried home the entire expedition.

The strongly drawn topography of the map answers minutely to Champlain's narrative, which it fits as a hand its own glove. The place-names accord, as a rule, with the text, though occasional differences are to be found which will be noted later. The single letters which occur here and there must represent legends which unfortunately are missing, while the list of magnetic variations agrees with those in the text excepting in one instance—that of Kennebec, which differs by twelve minutes. The dotted line, unexplained, presumably indicates the route of ships from France to Port Royal. The date was apparently first written 1606, and was later corrected to 1607.

Other copies of this map, differing in details, must also have been made; for the Simancas map of 1610 of this part of America follows very precisely its topography, though with some minor differences in the place-nomenclature.[1] Still another copy, also with some differences in the names, must have formed the original of this region on the Hondius World Map of 1611.[2]

The second of Champlain's general maps is the very important *Carte Géographique de la Nouvelle France*, of 1612, appended to his *Les Voyages*, 1613, and reproduced in the portfolio as Plate LXXXI. In so far as its small scale permits, this map also accords very closely with the

[1] Reproduced in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, i. 456.

[2] Reproduced in facsimile by Stevenson and Fischer, New York, 1907.

narrative. Indeed, in some respects, notably in its place-nomenclature, it agrees more closely with the text than does the map of 1607; and the differences are of a kind to imply that while the earlier map reflects more closely the original journals of Champlain, the later was constructed especially to illustrate the narrative as finally edited for publication. The peculiar adjustment of this map to the true meridian is explained in a legend upon it, and especially in Champlain's treatise upon magnetic declination given towards the end of his *Voyages*.

Finally, Champlain's *Carte de la Nouvelle France*, appended to the collected edition of his works published in 1632, is for Acadia and New England somewhat more complete than the earlier maps, but no more accurate in detail. This map became the type, or mother-map, for all others during nearly a century, and was only superseded by more accurate surveys after 1700.

The thirteen detailed charts of ports drawn by Champlain and scattered through this book, belong about equally to Acadia and to New England. That Champlain himself thought his maps the most valuable part of his work is manifest by his laudation of them in his dedication to the King. They did indeed mark an advance in the cartography of New France so great as to justify his paternal pride in their production. To us they seem crude enough, especially when placed beside our nearly perfect modern charts, but not in this way should they be judged. It is well-nigh impossible for any one who has not himself mapped new country to realise the difficulty of transferring topography to paper accurately. The impression made by a complicated topography upon the eye at its own level is so different from that given by the inspection of a modern map that the two hardly belong to the same psychological order. The historian with accurate modern maps has the advantage of the use of three dimensions over the explorer, whose wanderings, for the most part, are confined to the two dimensions of a single plane. It is surprising how

deceptive an appearance the actual country can present, how limited is at times the range of human vision, how opaque the hills, how like to islands the peninsulas the connections of which are hidden, how deep may seem a bight and how shallow a bay, and how completely telescoped to a uniform line a varied coast may become when seen in the haze of distance. The physical obstacles such as wind, weather, weariness, and the exceeding speed of time also play their part. All these difficulties, which the modern charts abolish for us, Champlain had to face, and to make his maps in the teeth of them. It is therefore not in comparison with the modern charts that his maps should be judged, but rather with the blank darkness out of which they were boldly and laboriously carved.

In interpreting Champlain's special maps, it is important to remember that they were true sea-charts, designed to show to mariners the safe entrances and good anchorages of ports, while only incidental thereto was the representation of the general topography. To furnish such guidance is indeed the aim of all charts, including those of our own day. For the routes of ships Champlain's charts are surprisingly accurate, both in bearings, soundings, and in relation to neighbouring features. It is only in their more distant topography that, as compared with modern maps, they become notably inaccurate. If, however, one studies them not in the library, but at the places represented, the errors assume a new aspect ; for it becomes evident that each map was made not by our method of taking angles and measurements from many different places, but was sketched from one single prominent point, which usually lay in the vicinity of the anchorage. This fact is all-important for a correct understanding of Champlain's cartography. The method was no doubt forced upon him by limitations of time, but it was justified also by his principal aim, which was to represent simply such topography as could be seen from the anchorage,

and thus furnish ocular testimony of the identity of the port. It is not difficult in the case of each chart to determine his observation point, which is indicated by the presence or absence of prominent features, their mode of overlapping, and the like. If to that point one takes Champlain's chart, and views it *in situ*, one will find that it not only represents the visible features with surprising accuracy, but that as a rule it is a much better representation of the country than the modern charts, which always need the eye of an expert to interpret them. It was certainly a representation of the topography as seen from shipboard that Champlain meant to record in his charts, not an objective representation of the actual topography of the country. Judged thus, Champlain's charts rank high in the cartographical art of the time.

While the special charts were mostly sketched from single points, Champlain, in some cases, made additions from other sources, and in two instances, Port Royal and Ste. Croix, where he spent some months, was able to check his sketches from several points, thus producing maps more modern in type. These two maps are therefore the best he made. At the opposite extreme is that of Port St. Louis (Plymouth), drawn from a single point during one brief visit. His three picture plans, showing the settlements at Port Royal and Ste. Croix and the Indian encounter at Port Fortuné, have a different basis. While the plans are correct in their leading facts, the details were obviously left to the fancy of the engraver, whose primary aim evidently was to embellish rather than to illustrate the work.

Champlain, in his map-making, large and small, made use of the best methods of his time. His chief reliance was upon the compass, which he well understood. He was acquainted with its declination, or deviation from the true meridian, though the secular variation in the declination had not then been discovered. His observations on this important subject, as

contained in his works and on his maps of 1607 and 1612, are as follows :—

	Map of 1607.	Text and map of 1612.	As calculated from charts in 1916.
Cape La Have . . .	16° 25′	16° 15′	19° 50′
Cape Sable . . .	16° 38′	...	17° 59′
Bay St. Mary . . .	17° 16′	17° 16′	18° 43′
Port Royal . . .	17° 8′	17° 8′	20° 19′
Ste. Croix . . .	17° 32′	17° 32′	18° 14′
Norumbega (Penobscot) .	18° 40′	18° 40′	17° 19′
Kennebec . . .	19° 24′	19° 12′	15° 40′
Port au cap aux Isles (Cape Ann)	19° 12′	...	14° 11′
Mallebarre (Nauset) . .	18° 40′	18° 40′	14° 1′
Cape Breton . . .	...	14° 50′	24° 25′

A comparison of Champlain's figures with the present variation has no particular meaning in itself, since the declination has shifted back and forth in the interval ; but the present data do show a definite law of regular diminution westward, for which we can find no equivalent in the figures of Champlain. Specialists who have studied his data for any light these might throw upon the important subject of past changes in declination, have reached the conclusion that Champlain's figures are unreliable within no less than 6°.[1] This error seems to go back to Champlain's method of measurement, which he describes with a diagram towards the latter part of his *Voyages*, given in volume ii. of this edition. His method, though correct in general principle, is almost impossible of exact application, though we can well believe that he did not omit any precaution to make it yield its best returns. The reason for his special attention to magnetic variation is given in his remarks

[1] C. A. Schott, in *Report of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey*, Appendices, 1885, 1888; W. van Bemmelen, *Die Abweichung der Magnetnadel*, published by the Royal Observatory of Batavia, 1899; and J. Langton in *Trans. Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, i. 1865, 145.

on the subject; for he shared the fallacious belief of the time that it could be used in the determination of longitude.

Next in importance to the compass in Champlain's cartographical methods were his determinations of latitude, of which some sixteen are recorded in this part of his works. They show a deviation from the correct latitudes varying from one to forty minutes, the mean error falling within twenty minutes.[1] Champlain took the altitudes with the astrolabe, the best instrument of his time, but it was graduated only to degrees, between which the minutes had to be estimated. In view of instrumental defects and the frequently unfavourable physical conditions, Champlain's error is, after all, not so very large. In his longitudes he is far from the truth, as were all others made for many years after his time; for in those days no good method of reckoning this had been found. The longitudes were, indeed, little better than guesses, based in part upon the unsafe method of magnetic declination, and in part upon dead reckoning on the voyage from Europe and from place to place in the New World. Of his method of measuring distance, Champlain tells us nothing. The numerous statements of distance scattered through his works and embodied in his maps, are sometimes surprisingly accurate, but often as remarkably erroneous, though it is notable and natural that they are least accurate at places where he encountered unusual difficulties or dangers. Apparently he used only dead reckoning, a method perfectly correct in principle, but practically impossible of exact application. Presumably he made his estimates on the basis of the length of time required to sail from point to point, the speed of his boat being taken by some crude form of log such as was then in use. His leagues represent about two and a half of our geographical miles.

[1] Champlain's latitudes, and his method of taking them, are thoroughly discussed by E. F. Slafter, in the *New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, xxxvi. 1882, 145.

By methods so crude was Champlain obliged to construct his maps. It is obvious that to obtain good results from such poor means required exceptional judgment in the cartographer. How well Champlain succeeded his maps bear ample witness.

One matter which concerns Champlain's narrative as a whole needs special comment. In this introduction, and often in the following pages, mention is made of discrepancies between his earlier maps and his printed works, and of omissions and inconsistencies in the latter. The collective evidence would imply that Champlain in preparing his narrative for publication greatly condensed his original journals, even to the total omission of some parts. Furthermore, it would seem that his narrative was not written direct from the journals, but from memory aided by notes; and it is probable that the journals themselves were not at the time accessible to him. It may be these were sent with the map of 1607 to Henri IV., from whom it would not be easy for Champlain to recover them.

To turn now to some minor matters. It is suitable to speak first of the method of the present translation. This I made anew from Champlain's text, seeking to render his narrative into clear English while keeping as close as this aim permitted to the peculiarities of his diction. Later I minutely compared this version with the very finished translation by Otis in the Prince Society's edition, and did not hesitate to appropriate any phrases or ideas which seemed better than my own. Finally, my manuscript was revised by the general editor of these volumes, Mr. H. P. Biggar, who still further improved it in numerous places. In the annotations I have sought to incorporate the results of the studies of my two distinguished and scholarly predecessors, the Abbé Laverdière and the Reverend E. F. Slafter, making acknowledgment whenever the material is due directly to them, but omitting those parts of their notes which did not seem directly germane to the

interpretation of Champlain's text. That I have been able to explain Champlain's work more fully than they did, is due chiefly to the better opportunities I have enjoyed, especially in a much closer personal acquaintance with the places and objects of which Champlain treats. It has been the greatest satisfaction to me, with Champlain's narratives and maps in hand, to follow in his footsteps over most of the ground he has described and over all that he mapped in detail. The result of these combined labours has been, I believe, to make Champlain's work more completely known, and I doubt if much is left to be learned, at least by the methods we have used, unless his original journals are discovered. Some new gleanings might perhaps reward the critical searcher who could follow Champlain's itinerary minutely and critically in a well-appointed yacht; and I commend this enviable outing to some sportsman-scholar of means and leisure.

Finally, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the very generous aid of the officers of the Champlain Society. Sir Edmund Walker, Professor Wrong, and Mr. Langton have read the proofs and aided me by their wise counsel, while Mr. Biggar has given more help than could be required by his duty as general editor. To all of these friendly co-workers I render my grateful acknowledgment.

W. F. Ganong.

Smith College,
Northampton, Mass.,
Nov. 10, 1918.

LES VOYAGES

DV SIEVR DE CHAMPLAIN XAINTONGEOIS, CAPITAINE ordinaire pour le Roy, en la marine.

DIVISEZ EN DEVX LIVRES.

ou,

IOVRNAL TRES-FIDELE DES OBSERVATIONS faites és descouuertures de la Nouuelle France : tant en la descriptiõ des terres, costes, riuieres, ports, haures, leurs hauteurs, & plusieurs declinaisons de la guide-aymant ; qu'en la creãce des peuples, leur superstition, façon de viure & de guerroyer : enrichi de quantité de figures.

Ensemble deux cartes geografiques : la premiere seruant à la nauigation, dressée selon les compas qui nordestent, sur lesquels les mariniers nauigent : l'autre en son vray Meridien, auec ses longitudes & latitudes : à laquelle est adiousté le voyage du destroict qu'ont trouué les Anglois, au dessus de Labrador, depuis le 53e. degré de latitude, iusques au 63e. en l'an 1612. cerchans vn chemin par le Nord, pour aller à la Chine.

A PARIS,
Chez IEAN BERJON, rue S. Iean de Beauuais, au Cheual volant, & en sa boutique au Palais, à la gallerie des prisonniers.

M. DC. XIII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

LES VOYAGES
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M. DC. XIII.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY. hd

THE VOYAGES

OF THE SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN OF SAINTONGE, CAPTAIN in ordinary for the King in the Navy.

DIVIDED INTO TWO BOOKS.

or

A VERY ACCURATE JOURNAL OF OBSERVATIONS made in the course of discoveries in New France, both in the description of the countries, coasts, rivers, ports and harbours, with their latitudes and many magnetic variations, and also in regard to the beliefs of the inhabitants, their superstitions, manner of life, and mode of warfare; embellished with numerous illustrations.

Together with two maps: the first suitable for navigation, being adjusted by the compasses which point north-east and by which mariners lay their courses: the other set to the true meridian with longitudes and latitudes: to the latter of which is added the voyage to the Strait which the English discovered above Labrador between the 53rd and the 63rd degrees of latitude in the year 1612 when seeking a route by the north to China.

AT PARIS,
In IEAN BERJON's shop in the rue S. Iean de Beauvais, at the Flying Horse, and in his shop at the Palace, in the Prisoners' Gallery.

M. DC. XIII.
WITH THE KING'S LICENCE.

AV ROY

SIRE,

Vostre Maiesté peut auoir assez de cognoissance des descouuertures, faites pour son seruice, de la nouuelle France (dicte Canada) par les escripts que certains Capitaines & Pilotes en ont fait, des voyages & descouuertures, qui y ont esté faites, depuis quatre vingts ans, mais ils n'ont rien rendu de si recommandable en vostre Royaume, ny si profitable pour le seruice de vostre Majesté & de ses subiects ; comme peuuēt estre les cartes des costes, haures, riuieres, & de la situation des lieux lesquelles seront representées par ce petit traicté, que ie prens la hardiesse d'adresser à vostre Maiesté, intitulé Iournalier des voyages & descouuertures que i'ay faites auec le sieur de Mons, vostre Lieutenant, en la nouuelle France : & me voyant poussé d'vne iuste recognoissance de l'honneur que i'ay reçeu depuis dix ans, des commandements, tant de vostre Maiesté, Sire, que du feu

---

TO THE KING

SIRE,

Your Majesty is able to acquire ample knowledge of the discoveries made in your service in New France (called Canada) from the descriptions which certain Captains and Pilots have given of the voyages and discoveries made there during the past eighty years ; but these have yielded nothing so much to the credit of your Kingdom, nor so useful to your Majesty's service and to your subjects, as the maps of the coasts, harbours, rivers, and the situations of places, which will be given in this little treatise, which I make bold to dedicate to your Majesty, entitled a Journal of the Voyages and Discoveries made by me along with the Sieur de Monts, your Lieutenant, in New France, being impelled moreover by a due sense of the honour which I have received during the past ten years by the commissions not only, Sire, of your Majesty, but also of the late

Roy, Henry le Grand, d'heureuse memoire, qui me commanda de faire les recherches & descouuertures les plus exactes qu'il me seroit possible: Ce que i'ay fait auec les augmentatiõs, representées par les cartes, contenues en ce petit liure, auquel il se trouuera vne remarque particuliere des perils, qu'on pourroit encourir s'ils n'estoyent euitez: ce que les subiects de vostre Majesté, qu'il luy plaira employer cy apres, pour la conseruation desdictes descouuertures pourront euiter selon la cognoissance que leur en donneront les cartes contenues en ce traicté, qui seruira d'exemplaire en vostre Royaume, pour seruir à vostre Majesté, à l'augmentation de sa gloire, au bien de ses subiects, & à l'honneur du seruice tres-humble que doit à l'heureux accroissement de vos iours.

SIRE,

Vostre tres-humble, tres-obeissant
& tres-fidele seruiteur & subiect.

CHAMPLAIN.

King, Henry the Great, of happy memory, who commanded me to undertake the most exact investigations and discoveries in my power. These I have carried out, with the additions represented on the maps contained in this little book, wherein will be found particular notice of the dangers into which one might run if they were not avoided, which, your Majesty's subjects, whom it may please you hereafter to employ for the preservation of the aforesaid discoveries, will now be able to avoid through the knowledge furnished them by the maps contained in this treatise, which will serve in your Kingdom as a pattern to your Majesty's service, to the increase of your glory, to the welfare of your subjects, and to the honour of the very humble service which is owing, with his wish for the happy increase of your days, by

SIRE,

Your most humble, most obedient,
and most faithful servant and subject,

CHAMPLAIN.

A LA ROYNE REGENTE

MERE DV ROY.

MADAME,

Entre tous les arts les plus vtiles & excellens, celuy de nauiger m'a tousiours semblé tenir le premier lieu : Car d'autant plus qu'il est hazardeux & accōpagné de mille perils & naufrages, d'autant plus aussi est-il estimé & releué par dessus tous, n'estāt aucunement conuenable à ceux qui māquent de courage & asseurance. Par cet art nous auōs la cognoissance de diuerses terres, regions, & Royaumes. Par iceluy nous attirons & apportons en nos terres toutes sortes de richesses, par iceluy l'idolatrie du Paganisme est renuersé, & le Christianisme annoncé par tous les endroits de la terre. C'est cet art qui m'a des mō bas aage attiré à l'aimer

---

TO THE QUEEN REGENT

MOTHER OF THE KING

MADAM,

Among all the most useful and admirable arts that of navigation has always seemed to me to hold the first place; for the more hazardous it is and the more attended by innumerable dangers and shipwrecks, so much the more is it esteemed and exalted above all others, being in no way suited to those who lack courage and resolution. Through this art we gain knowledge of different countries, regions, and kingdoms; through it we attract and bring into our countries all kinds of riches; through it the idolatry of paganism is overthrown and Christianity proclaimed in all parts of the earth. This art it is which

& qui m'a prouoqué à m'exposer presque toute ma vie aux ondes impetueuses de l'Oceã, & qui m'a fait nauiger & costoyer vne partie des terres de l'Amerique & principalement de la Nouuelle France, où i'ay tousiours en desir d'y faire fleurir le Lys auec l'vnique Religion Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine. Ce que ie croy à present faire auec l'aide de Dieu, estant assisté de la faueur de vostre Majesté, laquelle ie supplie tres-humblement de continuer à nous maintenir, afin que tout rëussisse à l'honneur de Dieu, au bien de la France & splendeur de vostre Regne, pour la grandeur & prosperité duquel, ie prieray Dieu, de vous assister tousiours de mille benedictions, & demeureray.

MADAME,

Vostre tres-humble, tres-obeissant
& tres-fidele seruiteur & subiect.

CHAMPLAIN.

---

from my tender youth won my love, has stimulated me to venture nearly all my life upon the turbulent waves of the ocean, and has made me explore and coast a part of the shores of America and especially of New France, where it is my constant desire to make the Lily flourish along with the unrivalled Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion. This I trust now to accomplish with God's help, being assisted by the favour of your Majesty, whom I most humbly entreat to continue to sustain us, in order that everything may prosper to the honour of God, to the welfare of France, and to the splendour of your reign, towards the grandeur and prosperity of which I shall pray God to assist you with a thousand blessings, and shall remain,

MADAM,

Your most humble, most obedient, and
most faithful servant and subject,

CHAMPLAIN.

AVX FRANCOIS, SVR LES voyages du sieur de Champlain.

STANCES.

LA France estant vn iour à bon droit irritée
De voir des estrangers l'audace tant vantée,
Voulans comme ranger la mer à leur merci,
Et rendre iniustement Neptune tributaire
Estant commun à tous ; ardente de cholere
Appella ses enfans, & les tançoit ainsi.

2

Enfans, mon cher soucy, le doux soin de mon ame,
Quoy ? l'honneur qui espoint[a] *d'vne si douce flamme,*
Ne touche point vos cœurs ? Si l'honneur de mon nom
Rend le vostre pareil d'eternelle memoire,
Si le bruit de mon los[b] *redonde à vostre gloire,*
Chers enfans, pouués vous trahir vostre renom ?

3

Ie voy de l'estranger l'insolente arrogance,
Entreprenant par trop, prendre la iouissance
De ce grand Ocean, qui languit apres vous.
Et pourquoy le desir d'vne belle entreprise
Vos cœurs comme autresfois n'espoinçonne[c] *& n'attise ?*
„ Tousiours vn braue cœur de l'honneur est ialoux.

4

Apprenés qu'on a veu les Françoises armées
De leur nombre couurir les plaines Idumées,
L'Afrique quelquefois a veu vos deuanciers,
L'Europe en a tremblé, & la fertile Asie
En a esté souuent d'effroy toute saisie,
Ces peuples sont tesmoins de leurs actes guerriers.

---

[a] Pique, anime, excite.
[b] Ma renommée.
[c] Aiguillonne.

5

Ainsi moy vostre mere en armes si feconde
I'ay fait trembler soubs moy les trois parts de ce monde.
La quarte seulement mes armes n'a gousté.
C'est ce monde nouueau dont l'Espagne rostie,
Ialouse de mon los, seule se glorifie,
Mon nom plus que le sien y doit estre planté.

6

Peut estre direz vous que mon ventre vous donne
Ce que pour estre bien, Nature vous ordonne,
Que vous auez le Ciel clement & gracieux,
Que de chercher ailleurs se rendre à la fortune,
Et plus se confier à vne traistre Neptune,
Se seroit s'hazarder sans espoir d'auoir mieux.

7

Si les autres auoyent leurs terres cultiuées,
De fleuues & ruisseaux plaisamment abbreuuées
Et que l'air y fut doux : sans doute ils n'auroyent pas
Dans ce pays lointain porté leur renommée
Que foible on la verroit dans leurs murs enfermée
Mais pour vaincre la faim, on ne craint le trespas.

8

Il est vray chers enfans, mais ne faites vous compte
De l'honneur, qui le temps & sa force surmonte ?
Qui seul peut faire viure en immortalité ?
Ha ! ie sçay que luy seul vous plaist pour recompense,
Allés donc courageux, ne souffrez ceste offense,
De souffrir tels affrons, ce seroit lascheté.

9

Ie n'en sentirois pas la passion si forte,
Si nature n'ouuroit à ce dessein la porte,
Car puis qu'elle a voulu me bagner les costés
De deux si larges mers : c'est pour vous faire entendre
Que guerriers il vous faut mes limites estendre
Et rendre des deux parts les peuples surmontés.

10

C'est trop, c'est trop long temps se priuer de l'vsage,
D'vn bien que par le Ciel vous eustes en partage,
Allés donc courageux, faites bruire mon los,
Que mes armes par vous en ce lieu soyent portées
Rendés par la vertu les peines surmontées
„ L'honneur est tant plus grand que moindre est le repos.

11

Ainsi parla la France : & les vns approuuerent
Son discours, par les cris qu'au Ciel ils esleuerent,
D'autres faisoient semblant de louer son dessein,
Mais nul ne s'efforçoit de la rendre contente,
Quand Champlain luy donna le fruit de son attente.
„ Vn cœur fort genereux ne peut rien faire en vain.

12

Ce dessein qui portoit tant de peines diuerses,
De dangers, de trauaux, d'espines, de trauerses,
Luy seruit pour monstrer qu'vne entiere vertu
Peut rompre tous efforts par sa perseuerance
„ Emporter, vaincre tout : vn cœur plein de vaillance
„ Se monstre tant plus grand, plus il est combattu.

13

François, chers compagnons, qu'vn beau desir de gloire
Espoinçonnant vos cœurs, rendre vostre memoire
Illustrée à iamais : venez[a] *braues guerriers,*
Non non ce ne sont point des esperances vaines.
Champlain a surmonté les dangers & les peines :
Venés pour receuillir mille & mille lauriers.

14

HENRY mon grand Henry à qui la destinée
Impiteuse[b] *a trop tost la carriere bornée,*
Si le Ciel t'eust laissé plus long temps icy bas,
Tu nous eusse assemblé la France auec la Chine :
Tu ne meritois moins que la ronde machine,[c]
Et l'eussions veu courber sous l'effort de ton bras.

---

[a] L'original porte, *voüez.*

[b] Impitoyable.

[c] Cette expression qui signifie l'univers, le monde, se rencontre souvent chez les écrivains des XVIe et XVIIe siècles.

15

Et toy sacré fleuron, digne fils d'vn tel Prince,
Qui luis comme vn soleil aux yeux de ta Prouince,
Le Ciel qui te reserue à vn si haut dessein,
Face vn iour qu'arriuant l'effect de mon enuie,
Ie verse en t'y seruant & le sang, & la vie,
Ie ne quiers autre honneur si tel est mon destin.

16

Tes armes ô mon Roy, ô mon grand Alexandre !
Iront de tes vertus vn bon odeur espandre
Au couchant & leuant. Champlain tout glorieux
D'vn desir si hautain ayant l'ame eschauffée
Aux fins de l'Ocean plantera ton trophée,
La grandeur d'vn tel Roy doit voler iusqu'aux Cieux.

L'ANGE Paris.

A MONSIEVR DE CHAMPLAIN
sur son liure & ses cartes marines.

ODE.

QVE desire tu voir encore
Curieuse temerité :
Tu cognois l'vn & l'autre More,
En ton cours est-il limité ?
En quelle coste reculee
N'es-tu pas sans frayeur allèe ?
Et ne sers tu pas de raison ?
Que l'ame est vn feu qui nous pousse,
Qui nous agite & se courouce
D'estre en ce corps comme en prison ?
Tu ne trouues rien d'impossible,
Et mesme le chemin des Cieux
A peine reste inaccessible
A ton courage ambitieux.
Encore vn fugitif Dedale,
Esbranlant son aisle inegale
Eut l'audace d'en approcher,
Et ce guerrier qui de la nue
Vid la ieune Andromede nue
Preste à mourir sur le rocher.
Que n'ay ie leur aisle asseuree,
Ou celle du vent plus leger,
Ou celles des fils de Boree
Ou l'Hippogriphe de Roger.[a]
Que ne puis-ie par characteres[b]
Parfums & magiques mysteres
Courir l'vn & l'autre Element.

---

[a] Allusion au monstre aîlé imaginé par Arioste (*Roland furieux*, chant iv.).
[b] Talismans.

Et quand ie voudrois l'entreprendre
Aussi-tost qu'vn daimon me rendre
Au bout du monde en vn moment.
Non point qu'alors ie me promette
D'aller au seiour esleué
Qu'auec vne longue lunette
On a dans la lune trouué ;
Ny d'apprendre si les lumieres
D'esclairer au ciel coustumieres,
Et qui font nos biens & nos maux,
D'humides vapeurs sont nourries,
Comme icy bas dans les prairies
D'herbe on nourit les animaux.
Mais pour aller en asseurance
Visiter ces peuples tous nuds
Que la bien heureuse ignorance
En long repos a maintenus.
Telle estoit la gent fortunée
Au monde la premiere née,
Quand le miel en ruisseaux fondoit
Au sein de la terre fleurie
Et telle se voit l'Hetrurie
Lors que Saturne y commandoit.[a]
Quels honneurs & quelles loüanges
Champlain ne doit point esperer,
Qui de ces grands pays estranges
Nous a sçeu le plan figurer
Ayant neuf fois tenu la sonde
Et porté dans ce nouueau monde
Son courage aueugle aux dangers,
Sans craindre des vents les haleines,
Ny les monstrueuses Baleines
Le butin des Basques legers.
Esprit plus grand que la fortune
Patient & laborieux.
Tousiours soit propice Neptune
A tes voyages glorieux.

---

[a] L'âge d'or "que les anciens plaçaient sous le règne de Saturne."

Puisses tu d'aage en aage viure,
Par l'heureux effort de ton liure :
Et que la mesme eternité
Donne tes chartes renommées
D'huile de cedre perfumées
En garde à l'immortalité.

MOTIN.[a]

[a] Sur Motin voir *Recueil des plus belles pièces des poëtes françois depuis Villon jusqu'à Benserade*, iii. 125-136. Paris, 1752.

SOMMAIRES DES CHAPITRES

LIVRE PREMIER

Auquel sont descrites les descouuertures de la coste d'Acadie & de la Floride.

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EXTRAIT DV PRIVILEGE.

PAR lettres patentes du Roy données à Paris, le 9. de Ianuier, 1613. & de nostre regne le 3. par le Roy en son Conseil PERREAV: & seellées en cire[1] jaune sur simple queüe, il est permis à IEAN BERJON, Imprimeur & Libraire en ceste ville de Paris, imprimer ou faire imprimer par qui bon luy semblera vn liure intitulé, *Les Voyages de Samuel de Champlain Xainctongeois, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine, &c.*, pour le temps & terme de six ans entiers & consecutifs à commencer du iour que ledit liure aura esté acheué d'imprimer, iusques audit temps de six ans. Estant semblablement fait deffenses par les mesmes lettres, à tous Imprimeurs, marchans Libraires, & autres quelconques, d'imprimer, ou faire imprimer, vendre ou distribuer ledit liure durant ledit temps, sans l'exprés consentement dudit BERJON, ou de celuy à qui il en aura donné permission, sur peine de confiscation desdicts liures la part qu'ils seront trouuez, & d'amende arbitraire, comme plus à plein est declaré esdictes lettres.

EXTRACT FROM THE LICENCE

BY royal Letters Patent granted at Paris January 9, 1613, and of our reign the 3rd, by the King in his Council, [signed] PERREAU, and sealed in a strip of the parchment in yellow wax,[1] IEAN BERJON, Printer and Bookseller in this City of Paris, is given permission to print or have printed by whomsoever he pleases a book entitled *The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain of Saintonge, Captain in ordinary for the King in the Navy, &c.*, for the time and period of six whole and consecutive years, beginning on the day on which the printing of the said book shall have been completed, and continuing for the said six years. Prohibition is likewise given by the same Letters Patent to all printers, booksellers, and all others whatsoever, to print or have printed, sell or distribute, the said book during the said term without the express permission of the said BERJON or of the person to whom he shall have delegated the right, on pain of confiscation of the said books, wherever found, and of a discretionary fine, as is set forth more at length in the said letters.

[1] See Lescarbot, *Histoire*, etc., vol. ii. p. 216, note 1, for an explanation of the different methods of attaching seals.

LES VOYAGES

DV SIEVR DE CHAMPLAIN

XAINTONGEOIS [a] CAPITAINE

ordinaire pour le Roy,

en la marine.

OV IOVRNAL TRES-FIDELE DES OBSERVATIONS faites és descouuertures de la nouuelle France : tant en la description des terres, costes, riuieres, ports, haures, leurs hauteurs, & plusieurs declinaisons de la guide-aymant ; qu'en la creance des peuples, leurs superstitions, façon de viure & de guerroyer : enrichi de quantité de figures.

Ensemble deux cartes geographiques : la premiere seruant à la nauigation, dressée selon les compas qui nordestent, sur lesquels les mariniers nauigent : l'autre en son vray Meridien, auec ses longitudes & latitudes : à laquelle est adiousté le voyage du destroict qu'ont trouué les Anglois, au dessus de Labrador, depuis le 53ᵉ. degré de latitude, iusques au 63ᵉ. en l'an 1612. cerchans vn chemin par le Nord, pour aller à la Chine.

[a] Dans certains exemplaires ce mot manque, mais ils portent après le mot *marine, & Lieutenant de Monsieur de Mons, gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy, Lieutenant general en la Nouvelle France & Gouverneur de Pons en Xaintonge, ov Journal, etc.* Les trois dernières lignes du titre y manquent également.

THE VOYAGES

OF THE SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN

OF SAINTONGE, CAPTAIN

in ordinary for the King

in the Navy.

OR, A VERY ACCURATE JOURNAL OF THE OBSERVATIONS made in the course of discoveries in New France, both in the description of the countries, coasts, rivers, ports, and harbours, with their latitudes and many magnetic variations, and also in regard to the beliefs of the inhabitants, their superstitions, manner of life, and mode of warfare ; embellished with numerous illustrations.

Together with two maps : the first suitable for navigation, being adjusted by the compasses, which point north-east, and by which mariners lay their courses : the other set to the true meridian, with longitudes and latitudes ; to the latter of which is added the voyage to the strait which the English discovered above Labrador, between the 53rd and the 63rd degrees of latitude, in the year 1612 when seeking a route by the north to China.

LIVRE PREMIER[a]

L'vtilité du commerce a induit plusieurs Princes à rechercher vn chemin plus facile pour trafiquer auec les Orientaux. Plusieurs voyages qui n'ont pas reüssy. Resolution des François à cet effect. Entreprise du sieur de Mons : sa commission & reuocation d'icelle. Nouuelle commission au mesme sieur de Mons pour continuer son entreprise.

CHAP. I.

SELON la diuersité des humeurs les inclinations sont differentes : & chacun en sa vacation a vne fin particuliere. Les vns tirẽt au proffit, les autres à la gloire,
2. & aucuns au bien public. Le plus grand est au commerce, & principalement celuy qui se faict sur la mer. De là vient le grand soulagement du peuple, l'opulence & l'ornement des republiques. C'est ce qui a esleué l'ancienne Rome à la Seigneurie & domination de tout le monde. Les Venitiens

[a] Certains exemplaires portent : *Premier Voyage de l'an 1604.*

BOOK FIRST

CHAPTER I

The utility of commerce has induced many princes to seek an easier trade route to the people of the Orient. Several unsuccessful voyages. Determination of the French to accomplish this result. Undertaking of the Sieur de Monts; his commission and its revocation. New commission to the same Sieur de Monts for the continuation of his undertaking.

ACCORDING to the diversity of their dispositions, men's inclinations vary, and each in his calling has a particular object. Some aim at profit, others at glory, and others at the public welfare. The greater number take to commerce, and especially that which is carried on by sea. Thence springs the people's principal source of comfort, with the wealth and honour of states. This it was that raised ancient Rome to the sovereignty and mastery of the whole world, and the Venetians to a height comparable

à vne grandeur esgale à celle des puissans Roys. De tout temps il a fait foisonner en richesses les villes maritimes, dont Alexandrie & Tyr sont si celebres : & vne infinité d'autres, lesquelles remplissent le profond des terres aprés que les nations estrãgeres leur ont envoyé ce qu'elles ont de beau & de singulier. C'est pourquoy plusieurs Princes se sont efforcez de trouuer par le Nort, le chemin de la Chine, afin de faciliter le commerce auec les Oriẽtaux, esperans que ceste route seroit plus brieue & moins perilleuse.

En l'an 1496. le Roy d'Angleterre commit à ceste recherche Ieã Chabot & Sebastiẽ son fils.[1] Enuiron le mesme temps Dom Emanuel Roy de Portugal y enuoya Gaspar Cortereal, qui retourna sans auoir trouué ce qu'il pretendoit : & l'année d'aprés reprenant les mesmes erres, il mourut en

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with that of mighty kings. In all ages it has made maritime cities abound in riches, among which cities Alexandria and Tyre are so famous, and a host of others occupying the interiors of countries, while foreign nations have sent them whatever beautiful and remarkable things they possess. This is why many princes have striven to find a route to China by the north, in order to facilitate commerce with the peoples of the East, in the hope that this route might prove shorter and less dangerous.

In the year 1496 the king of England commissioned for this search John Cabot and Sebastian his son.[1] About the same time Dom Manoel, king of Portugal, sent thither Gaspar Corte Real, who returned without having found what he hoped, and the following year on resuming the same

[1] The voyages of the Cabots, on which is founded the claim of England to the northern parts of America, were much discussed and re-examined about the time of the four-hundredth anniversary thereof. The resultant literature is listed in Winship's *Cabot Bibliography, with an introductory essay on the careers of the Cabots*, London, 1900. The latest summary is given by Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier* (Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 5, Ottawa, 1911, vii.–xiv. 1–31). Champlain's date is correct.

l'entreprise, comme fit Michel son frere qui la continuoit obstinément.[1] Es années 1534. & 1535. Iacques Quartier eut pareille commission du Roy François I. mais il fut arresté
p. 3. en sa course. Six ans aprés le sieur de Roberual l'ayāt renouuelee, enuoya Iean Alfonce Xaintongeois plus au Nort le long de la coste de Labrador, qui en reuint aussi sçauant que les autres.[2] Es annees 1576. 1577. & 1578. Messire Martin Forbicher Anglois fit trois voyages suiuant les costes du Nort.[3] Sept ans aprés Hunfrey Gilbert aussi Anglois partit auec cinq nauires, & s'en alla perdre sur l'isle de Sable, où demeurerēt trois de ses vaisseaux.[4] En la mesme année,

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path, he died during the expedition, as did Michael, his brother, who stubbornly continued the search.[1] In the years 1534 and 1535 Jacques Cartier received a similar commission from King Francis I, but was checked in his course. Six years later the Sieur de Roberval, having renewed the attempt, sent Jean Alfonse of Saintonge farther to the northward, along the coast of Labrador; but he returned as wise as the others.[2] In the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, Sir Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, made three voyages along the northern coasts.[3] Seven years later Humfrey Gilbert, also an Englishman, set out with five ships but was cast away upon Sable island, where three of his vessels were lost.[4] In

[1] The voyages of the Corte Reals took place in the years 1500–1. They are also summarised by Biggar, *op. cit.*, xiv.–xx. 32–96, though with a definiteness of itinerary hardly justified by the data. Other voyages not mentioned by Champlain are also summarised in Biggar's work.

[2] The voyages of Cartier, together with those of Roberval and Alfonse, have been published in J. P. Baxter's *Memoir of Jacques Cartier* (New York, 1906). See also Lescarbot's *Histoire*, ii. 19, *et seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Rear-Admiral R. Collinson, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, &c. (London, Hakluyt Society, 1867).

[4] See Patterson's study in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, III, 1897, ii. 113–29; E. Slafter's volume in the Prince Society's Publications, 1903; and W. G. Gosling's *Life of Sir Humfrey Gilbert*, 1911. Champlain is not quite accurate in his dates; for Gilbert's voyage took place in 1583 and that of Davis in 1585.

& és deux suiuantes Iean Dauis Anglois fit trois voyages pour mesme subiect, & penetra soubs les 72. degrez, & ne passa pas vn destroit qui est appelé auiourdhuy de son nom.[1] Et depuis luy le Capitaine Georges en fit aussi vn en l'an 1590. qui fut contraint à cause des glaces, de retourner sans auoir rien descouuert.[2] Quant aux Holandois ils n'en ont pas eu plus certaine cognoissance à la nouuelle Zemble.[3]

Tant de nauigations & descouuertures vainement entreprises, auec beaucoup de trauaux & despences, ont fait resoudre noz François en ces dernieres annees, à essayer de faire vne demeure arrestee és terres que nous disons la Nouuelle France, esperans paruenir plus facilement à la perfection de ceste

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the same and two following years John Davis, an Englishman, made three voyages for the same purpose, and penetrated to 72°, but did not sail beyond a strait which to this day is called by his name.[1] And after him Captain Georges also made one in the year 1590, but was obliged on account of the ice to return without having discovered anything.[2] As for the Dutch, they have not obtained any more exact knowledge at Nova Zembla.[3]

So many voyages and explorations at the cost of so much effort and expense having been undertaken in vain, our Frenchmen were induced in these last few years to endeavour to effect a permanent settlement in those lands which we call New France, in the hope of attaining more easily to the com-

[1] *Cf.* Captain A. H. Markham, *The Voyages and Works of John Davis* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1870).

[2] No other record is known of such a voyage, and either it escaped mention, which is very improbable if it ever really took place, or else Champlain had in mind a voyage of later date by Captain George Waymouth, which is more likely. The matter is discussed briefly by Slafter (*Champlain's Voyages*, The Prince Society, ii. 3).

[3] This refers to the voyages of William Barents in 1594, 1595 and 1596, an account of which in French appeared in 1598. See Gerrit de Veer, *The Three Voyages of William Barents* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1871).

entreprise, la Nauigation commençeant en la terre d'outre l'Ocean, le long de laquelle se fait la recherche du passage
p. 4. desiré : Ce qui auoit meu le Marquis de la Roche en l'an 1598. de prendre commission du Roy pour habiter ladite terre. A cet effect il deschargea des hommes & munitions en l'Isle de Sable : mais les conditions qui luy auoient esté accordees par sa Maiesté luy ayant esté deniees, il fut contraint de quitter son entreprise, & laisser là ses gens.[1] Vn an aprez le Capitaine Chauuin en prit vne autre pour y conduire d'autres hommes : & peu aprez estãt aussi reuocquee, il ne poursuit pas dauuantage.[2]

Aprez ceux cy,[3] nonobstant toutes ces variations & in-

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pletion of this enterprise, since the voyage would begin in this land beyond the ocean, along which the search for the desired passage is to be made. This consideration induced the Marquis de La Roche, in the year 1598, to obtain a commission from the king for settling the said country. To this end he landed men and supplies on Sable island ; but the conditions accorded to him by his Majesty having been revoked, he was obliged to abandon his undertaking and to leave his men there.[1] A year later Captain Chauvin obtained another commission to take out other men, but this having been shortly afterwards revoked, he followed the matter no further.[2]

After them,[3] notwithstanding all these vicissitudes and

[1] Our knowledge of the expedition of the Marquis de La Roche rests chiefly upon Lescarbot's account (Champlain Society's edition, ii. 194–207). The subject is summarised by Biggar, in his *Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901), 38–41. It is treated briefly in connection with Sable Island by G. Patterson, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XII, 1894, ii. 8. Champlain's account is accurate.

[2] An account of Captain Chauvin's expeditions is given by Champlain himself in chapter vi. of the edition of his works published in 1632. Chauvin had made a successful fur-trading expedition to the river St. Lawrence in 1599, and a second the following year, while another was abandoned on his death. *Cf.* Bréard, *op. cit.*, 69.

[3] Champlain omits, curiously enough, all mention of the voyage of Commander de Chastes to the St. Lawrence in 1603, a voyage in which

certitudes, le sieur de Mons voulut tenter vne chose desesperee : & en demanda commission à sa Maiesté : recognoissant que ce qui auoit ruiné les entreprinses precedentes, estoit faute d'auoir assisté les entrepreneurs, qui en vn an, ny deux, n'ont peu recognoistre les terres & les peuples qui y sont : ny trouuer des ports propres à vne habitation. Il proposa à sa Maiesté vn moyen pour supporter ces frais sans rien tirer des deniers Royaux, asçauoir, de luy octroyer, priuatiuement a tous autres la traitte de peleterie d'icelle terre. Ce que luy ayãt esté accordé, il se mit en grãde & excessiue despẽce : & mena auec luy bon nombre d'hommes de diuerses conditions : & y fit bastir des logemens necessaires pour ses gens : laquelle despence il continua trois annees consecutiues, aprez les- p. 5.
quelles, par l'enuie & importunité de certains marchans

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hesitations, the Sieur de Monts desired to attempt this desperate undertaking, and asked his Majesty for a commission for this purpose; for he realised that what had ruined the former undertakings had been a lack of assistance to the promoters, who, neither in a single year nor in two, had been able to become acquainted with the regions and the peoples who inhabit them, or to find harbours suitable for a settlement. He proposed to his Majesty a method of meeting the expenses without drawing anything from the royal exchequer, namely, that he be given a monopoly of the fur trade of that country. This having been granted to him, he contracted large and excessive expenditure, and took with him a considerable number of men of divers conditions, and had constructed there the dwellings necessary for his men. This expenditure he continued for three consecutive years, after which, in consequence of the jealousy and importunity of

he himself had taken part, and to the description of which his work *Des Sauvages* is devoted. The remainder of this paragraph is simply an outline of the voyages and events which Champlain is about to describe in detail.

Basques & Bretons, ce qui luy auoit esté octroyé, fut reuocqué par le Conseil, au grand preiudice d'iceluy sieur de Mons : lequel par telle reuocation fut contraint d'abbandonner tout, auec perte de ses trauaux & de tous les vtensilles dont il auoit garny son habitation.

Mais comme il eut fait raport au Roy de la fertilité de la terre ; & moy du moyen de trouuer le passage de la Chine, sans les incōmoditez des glaces du Nort, ny les ardeurs de la Zone torride, soubs laquelle nos mariniers passent deux fois en allant & deux fois en retournant, auec des trauaux & perils incroiables, sa Maiesté commanda au sieur de Mons de faire nouuel équipage & renuoyer des hōmes pour continuer ce qu'il auoit commencé.[1] Il le fit. Et pour l'incertitude de sa commission il changea de lieu, afin d'oster aux enuieux

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certain Basque and Breton merchants, his grant was revoked by the Council, to the great detriment of the said Sieur de Monts, who, in consequence of this revocation, was compelled to abandon everything, with the loss of his labour and of all the implements wherewith he had provided his settlement.

But as he had made a report to the king of the fertility of the soil, and I had made one upon the means of discovering the passage to China without the inconvenience of the northern icebergs, or the heat of the torrid zone through which our seamen, with incredible labours and perils, pass twice in going and twice in returning, his Majesty commanded the Sieur de Monts to prepare a fresh expedition and again to send men to continue what he had begun.[1] This he did ; and because of the uncertainty of his commission he changed

[1] Monts' report to the King was no doubt verbal, as was probably Champlain's upon the new route to China. Champlain had in mind, of course, a route by way of the source of the St. Lawrence, which he understood from the Indians was connected far to the westward with salt water. He is now showing the connection between the Acadian attempts of 1604–7 and the foundation of Quebec in 1608, and is giving the reasons for re-starting the settlement in the interior rather than upon the coast of Acadia.

l'ombrage qu'il leur auoit apporté ; meu aussi de l'esperance d'auoir plus d'vtilité au dedans des terres où les peuples sōt ciuilisez, & est plus facile de planter la foy Chrestienne & establir vn ordre comme il est necessaire pour la conseruation d'vn païs, que le long des riues de la mer, où habitēt ordinairement les sauuages : & ainsi faire que le Roy en puisse tirer vn proffit inestimable : Car il est aisé à croire que les p. 6.
peuples de l'Europe rechercheront plustost ceste facilité que non pas les humeurs enuieuses & farouches qui suiuent les costes & les nations barbares.

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the locality in order to deprive his rivals of the distrust he had aroused in them. He was influenced also by the hope of greater advantages in the interior, where the peoples are civilised, and where it is easier to plant the Christian faith and to establish such order as is necessary for the preservation of a country than along the sea-shore where the Indians usually dwell. Thus he hoped to bring it about that the king would derive therefrom a profit too great to be estimated; for it is easy to believe that the nations of Europe will rather seek to take advantage of this convenience than endure the envious and intractable dispositions of the peoples along the coasts and the barbarous nations.

Description de l'isle de Sable : Du Cap Breton ; De la Héue ; Du port au Mouton ; Du port du cap Negré : Du cap & baye de Sable : De l'isle aux Cormorans : Du cap Fourchu : De l'isle Longue : De la baye saincte Marie : Du port de saincte Marguerite : & de toutes les choses remarcables qui sont le long de cette coste.

CHAP. II.

LE sieur de Mons, en vertu de sa commission,[1] ayant par tous les ports & haures de ce Royaume fait publier les defences de la traitte de pelleterie à luy accordée par sa Maiesté, amassa enuiron 120. artisans, qu'il fit embarquer en deux vaisseaux : l'vn du port de 120. tonneaux, dans lequel commandoit le sieur de Pont-graué :

CHAPTER II

Description of Sable Island : of Cape Breton : of La Have : of Port Mouton : of the Port of Cape Negro : of Cape Sable and Sable Bay : of the Isle of Cormorants : of Cape Fourchu : of Long Island : of St. Mary's Bay : of Port St. Margaret ; and of all the noteworthy objects along this coast.

THE Sieur de Monts, having by virtue of his commission [1] made known throughout all the ports and harbours of this Kingdom the injunction against fur-trading granted to him by his Majesty, collected about 120 workmen whom he embarked in two vessels : one of the burden of 120 tons wherein commanded the Sieur de Pont-

[1] This commission has been several times published, notably in a contemporary leaflet, a copy of which is in the *Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Amérique*, iv. ff. 3-22, and by Lescarbot in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Champlain Society's ed., ii. 211–26). It has been translated in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1745), vii. 796, and in Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1865), i. 21.

& l'autre de 150. ou il se mit auec plusieurs gentils-hommes.[1]

Le septiesme d'Auril [2] mil six cens quatre, nous partismes du Haure de grace, & Pont-graué le 10. qui auoit le rendes-vous à Canceau 20. lieuës du cap Breton.[3] Mais comme nous fusmes en pleine mer le sieur de Mons changea d'aduis & prit sa route vers le port au Mouton, a cause qu'il est plus au midy, & aussi plus commode pour aborder, que non pas p. 7.
Cāceau.

Gravé, and the other, of 150 tons, wherein he himself took passage along with several noblemen.[1]

We set out from Havre de Grace on the seventh of April,[2] one thousand six hundred and four, and Pont-Gravé on the tenth, with a rendezvous at Canso, twenty leagues from Cape Breton.[3] But when we were on the high sea, the Sieur de Monts changed his mind, and set his course towards Port Mouton, because it is farther to the south and also a more convenient place for making land than Canso.

[1] Champlain's narrative from 1604 to 1607 is happily supplemented by the *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* of Marc Lescarbot, who spent the winter of 1606–7 in Champlain's company in Acadia. Lescarbot's work, originally published in Paris in 1609, with later editions in 1611, 1612, 1617, and 1618, has been translated and reprinted for the Champlain Society by Grant and Biggar. The references in the following pages are to this edition. In the present instance, Lescarbot (ii. 227) gives the names of the masters of the two vessels, viz. Captain Morel of Honfleur commanding *La Bonne-Renommée*, and Captain Timothée of Havre de Grace. The Sieur de Poutrincourt was the most prominent of the noblemen on Monts' vessel, and a partial list of the others occurs in the explanation of Champlain's plan of Ste. Croix island, *infra*, p. 278.

[2] Lescarbot says the seventh of *March* (*op. cit.*, ii. 228), the correctness of which date is confirmed by the independent contemporary synopsis of the voyage published in *Le Mercure François* for 1608, printed 1611, p. 294 (reprinted in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, VIII, 1902, ii. 172). The earlier date would also accord much better with the usual length of passage at that season from France to Acadia.

[3] For the explanation of the names Canso and Cape Breton, see chap. xvii., *infra*, pp. 465 and 468.

Le premier de May nous eusmes cognoissance de l'isle de Sable, où nous courusmes risque d'estre perduz par la faute de nos pilotes qui s'estoient trompez en l'estime qu'ils firent plus de l'auant que nous n'estions de 40. lieues.

Ceste isle est esloignee de la terre du cap Breton de 30. lieues, nort & su, & contient enuiron 15. lieues. Il y a vn petit lac. L'isle est fort sablonneuse & n'y a point de bois de haute futaie, se ne sont que taillis & herbages que pasturent des bœufz & des vaches que les Portugais y porterēt il y a plus de 60. ans, qui seruirēt beaucoup aux gens du Marquis de la Roche : qui en plusieurs annees qu'ils y seiournerent prirent grande quantité de fort beaux renards noirs, dont ils conseruerent bien soigneusemēt les peaux. Il y a force loups marins de la peau desquels ils s'abillerent ayans tout discipé leurs vestemens. Par ordonnance de la Cour de Parlement de Rouan il y fut enuoie vn vaisseau pour les requerir : Les

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On the first of May we sighted Sable island, where we ran the risk of being lost through the error of our pilots, who were wrong in their calculations, making us forty leagues farther on than we really were.

This island is distant some thirty leagues from Cape Breton island, north and south, and is about fifteen leagues in circumference. On it is a small lake. The island is very sandy, and contains no full-grown trees, but only underwood and grasses whereon pastured the bullocks and cows taken there over sixty years ago by the Portuguese. These cattle were of great service to the Marquis de La Roche's people, who, during the several years they remained there, captured a large number of very fine black foxes, the skins of which they carefully preserved. Seals are abundant, and in the skins of these the men clothed themselves after their own garments were quite worn out. By order of the Parliament of Rouen, a vessel was sent thither to bring them

conducteurs firent la peche de mollues en lieu proche de ceste isle qui est toute batturiere és enuirons.[1]

Le 8. du mesme mois nous eusmes cognoissance du Cap de la Héue,[2] à l'est duquel il y a vne Baye[3] où sont plusieurs Isles couuertes de sapins; & à la grand terre de chesnes, ormeaux & bouleaux. Il est ioignant la coste d'Accadie par p. 8.
les 44. degrez & cinq minutes de latitude, & 16. degrez 15.

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back, and her crew fished for cod at a place near this island, which island has shoals all about it.[1]

On the eighth of the same month, we sighted cape La Have,[2] to the eastward of which lies a bay[3] containing a good many islands, covered with firs, and on the mainland are oaks, elms, and birches. This cape adjoins the coast of Acadia, and lies in latitude 44° 5′, with a magnetic variation

[1] This description of Sable Island is accurate. See G. Patterson in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XII, 1894, ii. 3–49. As Slafter points out, the presence of the cattle is mentioned by Edward Haies in 1583 in Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1589), 691, while in 1633 John Rose of Boston "saw about eight hundred cattle, small and great, all red, and the largest he ever saw; and many foxes, whereof some perfect black" (Winthrop's *History of New England*, 1853, i. 193). The cattle were killed a few years later (Patterson, *op. cit.*, 11), and had all disappeared before Denys wrote in 1672 (*Description*, Champlain Society's ed., 207).

The name of the island goes back at least to 1544 as *isle de Sable*. See Jean Alfonse's *Cosmographie*, Musset's ed., 502. Cf. also p. 240, note 1.

[2] This name still persists, in the form cape La Have (pronounced locally with the "a" long, as in wave), an abrupt cliff 107 feet high. This first conspicuous cape seen in Acadia was probably named after the last prominent cape Monts and Champlain saw on leaving home, *i.e.* Cap de la Hève, near Havre, the place of their embarkation. The latitude of the cape is 44° 10′.

[3] The bay to the eastward is the mouth of the La Have river, while Champlain's *Port de la Heve* is the present Green Bay. Although Champlain made so elaborate a map of this port, and apparently remained there for two or three days, he makes no mention whatsoever of this place in his narrative. It is probable therefore that something has been dropped here in the abbreviation of his journal for publication. See Plate LXIV opposite.

Slafter gives the modern name of this place as Palmerston Bay, which name, like many others given by Des Barres in his *Atlantic Neptune*, never came into local use.

minutes de declinaison de la guide-aimāt, distant à l'est nordest du Cap Breton 85. lieuës, dont nous parlerons cy aprez. [PLANCHE: PORT DE LA HEVE.]

p. 9. Le 12. de May nous entrasmes dans vn autre port, à 5. lieuës du cap de la Héue, où nous primes vn vaisseau qui faisoit traitte de peleterie contre les defences du Roy. Le chef s'appeloit Rossignol, dont le nō en demeura au port,[1] qui est par les 44. degrez & vn quart de latitude.

[PLANCHE: POR DU ROSSŸNOL.]

p. 10. Le 13. de May nous arriuasmes à vn tres-beau port, où il y a deux petites riuieres, appelé le port au Mouton,[2] qui est à sept lieuës de celuy du Rossignol. Le terroir est fort pierreux, rempli de taillis & bruyeres. Il y a grand nombre de lappins ; & quantité de gibier à cause des estangs qui y sont.

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of 16° 15′, distant 85 leagues, on an east-north-east line, from Cape Breton, of which place we shall speak further on.

[PLATE LXIV.]

On the twelfth of May we entered another port five leagues from cape La Have, where we seized a vessel that was carrying on the fur-trade in violation of the king's injunction. The master's name was Rossignol, and his name clung to this port,[1] which lies in latitude 44° 15′. [PLATE LXV.]

On the thirteenth of May, we arrived at a very fine port, seven leagues from Port Rossignol, called Port Mouton,[2] where there are two small rivers. The soil is very stony and covered with underwood and heaths. Here are great numbers of hares, and plenty of waterfowl in consequence of the ponds there.

[1] Now Liverpool Bay, though Rossignol is still the name of a large lake near the source of Liverpool River. The latitude of Champlain's anchorage is 44° 2′ 30″ (*cf.* Lescarbot ii. 229 and Bréard, *op. cit.*, 102).

The abrupt transition in the narrative from Port La Have to Port Rossignol seems further evidence of omission from the original journal, which must have contained a reference to Port Medeway, shown on his map of 1607, Plate LXXX.

[2] This name still persists, though anglicised to *Matoon'*. Lescarbot tells us (*Histoire*, ii. 229) that it was suggested by a sheep (*mouton*) being drowned there, the body of which was recovered and "eaten as fair prize."

Aussi tost que nous fusmes desembarquez, chacun commença à faire des cabannes selon sa fantaisie, sur vne pointe à l'entree du port auprés de deux estangs d'eau douce.[1] Le sieur de Mons en mesme tēps depescha vne chalouppe, dans laquelle il enuoya auec des lettres vn des nostres, guidé d'aucuns sauuages, le long de la coste d'Accadie, chercher Pōt-graué, qui auoit vne partie des commoditez necessaires pour nostre hyuernement.[2] Il le trouua a la Baye de Toutes-

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As soon as we had landed, everybody began to construct camps, each after his fancy, upon a point at the entrance of the port close to two ponds of fresh water.[1] At the same time the Sieur de Monts despatched a shallop, wherein, with some Indians as guides, he sent one of our men carrying letters, to search along the coast of Acadia for Pont-Gravé, who had with him part of the supplies needed for our winter settlement.[2] This man found him at the Bay of All

[1] The position of these camps, temporary structures, built, as Lescarbot says, "after the Indian fashion," is shown on Champlain's map on Plate LXVI, p. 251. On this peninsula, at Bull Point, which is titanically rocky, only one practicable camp-site exists, but that a most charming one. From the middle of its north side, into waters completely sheltered, there projects a very pleasant spruce-shaded upland camping-ground. Close at hand is the prettiest of sandy beaches, and not far away lies an attractive little fresh-water pond, with traces of another now dried up. On this point, which was obviously much larger in Champlain's day, must have stood the camps of Monts' party. The larger pond shown on Champlain's map was not one of the two beside the camping-ground, but a larger one since become open to the sea, and shown as a cove on the modern map. The stay at Port Mouton promised to be somewhat extended, and the company, including the lively young noblemen, naturally preferred camp-life ashore to the crowded quarters on board.

[2] These proceedings show that it was considered unwise to risk the ship, with its valuable cargo, in the detailed exploration of an almost unknown coast. While she was kept as much as possible in harbour, the actual exploration was done in boats (*barques*), large enough to accommodate twenty or more men, but small enough to draw only a few feet of water and be run ashore in case of emergency. Champlain's statement is misleading, for, as Lescarbot shows (ii. 231), the messenger was not sent until three weeks had elapsed, and therefore long after Champlain had set forth on his journey. Lescarbot gives further details.

isles[1] fort en peine de nous (car il ne sçauoit point qu'on eut changé d'aduis) & luy presenta ses lettres. Incontinent qu'il les eut leuës, il s'en retourna vers son nauire à Canceau, où il saisit quelques vaisseaux Basques qui faisoyent traitte de pelleterie, nonobstāt les defences de sa Maiesté ; & en enuoya les chefs au sieur de Mōs :[2] Lequel ce pendāt me donna la charge d'aller recognoistre la coste, & les ports propres pour la seureté de nostre vaisseau.

p. 11. Desirant accomplir sa volonté ie partis du port au Mouton le 19. de May, dans vne barque de huict tonneaux, accōpaigné du sieur Raleau son Secretaire, & de dix hommes. Allant le long de la coste nous abordâmes à vn port tres-bon pour les vaisseaux, où il y a au fonds vne petite riuiere qui entre assez auant dans les terres, que i'ay appelé le port du cap Negré, à cause d'vn rocher qui de loing en a la semblāce,[3] lequel est

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Isles[1] in a state of much anxiety concerning us; for he knew nothing of our change of plan: and to him the man delivered our letters. As soon as Pont-Gravé had read them, he returned towards his ship at Canso, where he seized some Basque vessels which were trading furs notwithstanding his Majesty's injunction, and sent their captains to the Sieur de Monts,[2] who meanwhile had commissioned me to go and make an examination of the coast and of the ports suitable for the safe reception of our vessel.

Anxious to carry out his wishes, I set out from Port Mouton on 19 May in a pinnace of eight tons, accompanied by his secretary, the Sieur Ralleau, and ten men. Proceeding along the coast, we reached a very good port for vessels, at the head of which is a little river extending a good way inland. I named this the harbour of Cape Negro, on account of a rock which from a distance looks like one.[3] It

[1] The identity of this place, which is not named on our modern maps, is considered in note 3 at p. 461 *infra*.

[2] Certain Basque merchants were afterwards concerned in the hostility to Monts which led to the revocation of his monopoly of the fur-trade.

[3] Negro Harbour, behind Negro Island, the south-eastern end of which is still called Cape Negro. The rock is probably that now called *Black*

esleué sur l'eau proche d'vn cap où nous passames le mesme iour, qui en est à quatre lieuës, & à dix du port au Mouton. Ce cap est fort dangereux à raison des rochers qui iettent à la mer. Les costes qui ie vis iusques là sont fort basses couuertes de pareil bois qu'au cap de la Héue ; & les isles toutes remplies de gibier. Tirant plus outre nous fusmes passer la nuict à la Baye de Sable, où les vaisseaux peuuent mouiller l'ancre sans aucune crainte de danger.[1]

Le lendemain nous allames au cap de Sable, qui est aussi

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rises out of the water close to a cape which we passed the same day, and which is four leagues distant, and ten from Port Mouton. This cape is very dangerous because of the rocks which extend out to sea. The coast which I had thus far seen is very low, and covered with the same wood as cape La Have, while the islands are all full of waterfowl. Continuing our journey we passed the night at Sable Bay, where vessels can anchor without the least fear of danger.[1]

The next day we reached Cape Sable, which is also very

Rock, described by the *Sailing Directions* as ten feet high, close to the cape called Hemeon Head, forming the eastern boundary of Ragged Harbour. The distance from Negro Harbour is somewhat too great, but Champlain gives only an approximation ; and in all other respects this rock fulfils the requirements of the narrative far better than any other shown upon the most detailed Admiralty chart.

Several good harbours were apparently overlooked by Champlain in his voyage from Port Mouton to Negro Harbour—a notable contrast to his later minute examination of all places on his route. The explanation no doubt is, that Champlain had with him sailors or fishermen who, from previous fishing voyages, knew this coast, and were able to assure him that it contained no place desirable as a site for settlement. There is reason to believe that these coasts had long been visited by cod-fishermen, as witness Champlain's maps, which show "places where vessels anchor," and especially "places where vessels wait for the tide." Champlain's journal perhaps contained some mention of the intervening coasts, for his map of 1607 gives *Isle Ronde* and *I. Joly*, apparently our Little Hope and Lesser Hope islands.

[1] This characterisation of Sable Bay, now called Barrington Bay, and Cape Sable, which still retains the name, is quite accurate. This name Sable was no doubt in use among the fishermen long before Champlain's time. It is probably identical with the *Bai Sablom* of Diogo Homem's map of 1558.

fort dangereux, pour certains rochers & batteures qui iettent presque vne lieuë à la mer. Il est à deux lieuës de la baye de Sable, où nous passames la nuict precedente. De là nous fusmes en l'isle aux Cormorans,[1] qui en est à vne lieue, ainsi appelee à cause du nombre infini qu'il y a de ces
p. 12. oyseaux, où nous primes plein vne barrique de leurs œufs. Et de cest isle nous fismes l'ouest enuiron six lieues trauarsant vne baye [2] qui fuit au Nort deux ou trois lieues : puis ren-

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dangerous on account of certain rocks and shoals which project almost a league out to sea. It is two leagues from Sable Bay, where we had passed the preceding night. Thence we went to the Isle of Cormorants,[1] a league beyond, and so named because of the infinite number of these birds, of whose eggs we took a barrel full. From this island we held to the westward some six leagues, crossing a bay which runs to the north two or three leagues : [2] then we came upon

[1] Probably Green Island. Slafter's Hope Island is taken from Des Barres' charts, as is also his Townsend Bay (see p. 236 note 3). No local tradition exists as to the former presence of cormorants (*Phalacrocorax carbo* (Linn.) Bonap.) on Green Island, but the island has only been settled for about eighty years.

[2] This bay lies between the elongated line of the Tusket, Mud, and Seal Islands on the west, and the mainland on the east; that part between the Tusket Islands and the mainland is called by the fishermen Lobster Bay, though the name on the chart is Townsend Bay. Champlain on his maps names it *Baye courante*,

contrasmes plusieurs isles qui iettent 2. ou trois lieues à la mer, lesquelles peuuent contenir les vnes deux, les autres trois lieues, & d'autres moins, selon que i'ay peu iuger.[1] Elles sont la pluspart fort dangereuses à aborder aux grands vaisseaux, à cause des grandes marees, & des rochers qui sont à fleur d'eau. Ces isles sont remplies de pins, sapins, boulleaux & de trēbles. Vn peu plus outre, il y en a encore quatre.[2] En l'vne nous vismes si grande quātité d'oiseaux appelez tangueux,[3] que nous les tuyōs aisemēt à coups de

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several islands which project two or three leagues out to sea, and which may be in some cases two leagues in circumference, in others three, and in others less, so far as I could judge.[1] They are for the most part very dangerous of approach for large ships because of the strong tides, and of the rocks which lie on a level with the surface of the water. These islands are covered with pines, firs, birches, and poplars. A little farther on are four others.[2] On one we saw so great a number of birds called *tangueux*[3] that we killed them easily

i.e. "Bay of [tidal] currents," a name so descriptive that one regrets it did not persist. It extends northward more than the two or three leagues of our author. This passage has apparently also suffered from a condensation of the original narrative in preparation for publication.

[1] The Seal Islands which lie across his route, and of which the strong tides and the rocks at the water's surface are especially characteristic features. Thus the *Sailing Directions for the South-east Coast of Nova Scotia and Bay of Fundy* (London, 1903), 204, state that "Seal Island is surrounded on its east, south, and west sides by shoals of a very dangerous description." Champlain exaggerates their size, though the error is not great, since his figures are for the circumferences of the islands and not their lengths. Denys' description is now seen to be perfectly correct (Champlain Society's edition of Denys' *Description*, 129).

[2] These are Noddy, Mud, Round, and Flat, which make a very distinct group, and are so described in the *Sailing Directions*. It was obviously upon these that he found the seals and innumerable birds.

[3] These, though identified by several writers, including myself, with the Great Auk (*Plautus impennis* (Linn.) Steenstr.), were clearly gannets (*Sula bassana* (Linn.) Briss.). On his map of 1607 Champlain calls these islands *Isles aux margos*, the French name for the gannet. Also Bird Island of the Magdalens is called *I. au Margos* (*I. Anmarges*) on the Simancas map (see p. 195, *supra*), while on Plate LXXXI it is called *Isle aux Tanguex*. This name may be a corruption from the Micmac for gannet,

bastō. En vne autre nous trouuâmes le riuage tout couuert de loups marins, desquels nous primes autant que bon nous sembla. Aux deux autres il y a vne telle abondāce d'oiseaux de differentes especes, qu'on ne pourroit se l'imaginer si l'on ne l'auoit veu, comme Cormorans, Canards de trois sortes, Oyees, Marmettes, Outardes, Perroquets de mer, Beccacines, Vaultours, & autres Oyseaux de proye : Mauues, Allouettes de mer de deux ou trois especes ; Herons, Goillans, Courlieux, Pyes de mer, Plongeons, Huats, Appoils, Corbeaux, Grues, & autres sortes que ie ne cognois point, lesquels y font leurs
p. 13. nyds.[1] Nous les auons nommees, isles aux loups marins.[2]

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with a stick. On another we found the shore completely covered with seals, whereof we took as many as we wished. On the two others the abundance of birds of different kinds is so great that no one would believe it possible unless he had seen it—such as cormorants, ducks of three kinds, snow-geese, murres, wild geese, puffins, snipe, fish-hawks, and other birds of prey, sea-gulls, plover of two or three kinds, herons, herring-gulls, curlews, turnstones, divers, loons, eiders, ravens, cranes, and other kinds unknown to me which make their nests there.[1] We named these islands the Seal Islands.[2]

tăděgoo, the name for the Great Auk in Micmac being very different. Sagard's identification of the *tangueux* with the Great Auk is clearly erroneous, and Littré followed Sagard. Gannet Rock, some eleven miles north-west of the islands mentioned in the preceding note, was formerly a breeding-place of these birds.

[1] This list of birds is the earliest we possess for any part of Acadia, and on that account will always prove especially interesting to local zoologists. Champlain is obviously applying the names of birds familiar to him in Europe to the forms most nearly corresponding in North America. He probably intended to give an impression of great numbers of kinds rather than an exact enumeration, and it is unlikely all were actually found breeding on these islands. Cf. Ganong, *The Identity of the Animals and Plants*, etc.

[2] This passage taken alone would imply that Champlain used this name for the group of four islands only, without including the present Seal Islands. A later passage (p. 251 *infra*) shows that he gave the name to the entire group. It has survived to this day, in the form Seal Island, applied to the largest of the group. They lie between latitude 43° 23′ and 43° 31′. See De Chabert, *Voyage fait . . . en* 1750 *et* 1751, *etc.*, 129 (Paris, 1753).

Elles sont par la hauteur de 43. degrez & demy de latitude, distantes de la terre ferme ou Cap de Sable de quatre à cinq lieues. Apres y auoir passé quelque temps au plaisir de la chasse (& non pas sans prendre force gibier) nous abordâmes à vn cap qu'auons nommé le port Fourchu ;[1] d'autant que sa figure est ainsi, distant des isles aux loups marins cinq à six lieues. Ce port est fort bon pour les vaisseaux en son entree : mais au fonds il asseche presque tout de basse mer, fors le cours d'vne petite riuiere, toute enuironnee de prairies, qui rendēt ce lieu assez aggreable. La pesche de moruës y est bonne auprés du port. Partāt de là nous fismes le nort dix ou douze lieues sans trouuer aucun port pour les vaisseaux, sinon quātité d'ances ou playes tresbelles, dont les terres

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They lie in latitude 43° 30′, distant from the mainland or Cape Sable about four to five leagues. After spending some time there in the pleasures of the chase (and not without taking many waterfowl), we reached a cape which we named Port Fourchu,[1] because it has this [cleft] shape, distant from the Seal Islands five to six leagues. This port is a very good one for vessels at its entrance, but at its head it dries up almost entirely at low tide except for the channel of a small river completely bordered by meadows which make this place quite pleasant. The cod-fishing is good in the vicinity of this port. Setting out thence we held to the northward for ten or twelve leagues without discovering any harbour for vessels aside from a number of coves or very attractive places the soil

[1] Port Fourchu is now called Yarmouth, though the name Fourchu persists for the cape. This is composed of two parallel elongated islands which from the sea appear cleft. The name proved a puzzle to the English colonists; see Campbell, *History of Yarmouth*, 11. The description of the port is accurate, the small river being clearly the north-west arm of the harbour, including the Chegoggin flats, as Brown has shown in his *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*, 33.

It will be observed that Champlain uses the name *port Fourchu* when he means obviously *cap Fourchu*, and also begins the next sentence as if he had already mentioned the port. Herein we have apparently another instance of condensation of the original narrative.

semblēt estre propres pour cultiuer. Les bois y sont tres-beaux, mais il y a bien peu de pins & de sappins. Ceste coste est fort seine, sans isles, rochers ne basses : de sorte que selō nostre iugemēt les vaisseaux y peuuēt aller en asseurance.[1] Estans esloignez vn quart de lieuë de la coste, nous fusmes à vne isle, qui s'appelle l'isle Lōgue,[2] qui git nort nordest, & sur surouest, laquelle faict passage pour aller dedans la grande baye Françoise, ainsi nommee par le sieur de Mons.[3]

p. 14. Ceste isle est de six lieues de lōg : & a en quelques endroicts prés d'vne lieue de large, & en d'autres vn quart seulemēt. Elle est remplie de quātité de bois, cōme pins & boulleaux. Toute la coste est bordee de rochers fort dāgereux : & n'y a

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of which seems suitable for cultivation. The woods there are very fine, though very few pines and firs occur. This coast is very clear, and without islands, rocks, or shoals, so that, in our opinion, vessels may go there in safety.[1] A quarter of a league off shore we visited an island called Long Island,[2] which lies north-north-east and south-south-west, and leaves a passage into the great French Bay, as it was named by the Sieur de Monts.[3]

This island is six leagues in length and in some places nearly a league in breadth, though elsewhere only a quarter of a league. It is covered with quantities of trees, such as pines and birches. The whole shore is bordered with very

[1] This description of the coast from Cape Fourchu into St. Mary's Bay is in full agreement with the facts presented by the best modern charts. The *baye de Sable*, marked in Champlain's map of 1607, was evidently the bight south of Cape St. Mary with its great and conspicuous sandy beaches.

[2] This passage seems to mean that when distant a quarter of a league off shore they caught sight of Long Island, and went to it. Possibly some words are here omitted from the original journal.

[3] This name did not persist, but was later replaced by Fundy, the history of which is traced, though inconclusively, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, II, 1896, ii. 234.

point de lieu propre pour les vaisseaux, qu'au bout de l'isle quelques petites retraittes pour des chalouppes, & trois ou quatre islets de rochers, où les sauuages prennent force loups marins. Il y court de grandes marees, & principalement au petit passage de l'isle, qui est fort dangereux pour les vaiseaux s'ils vouloyent se mettre au hasard de le passer.[1]

Du passage de l'isle Lōgue fismes le nordest deux lieux, puis trouuâmes vne ance où les vaisseaux peuuent ancrer en seureté, laquelle a vn quart de lieue ou enuiron de circuit. Le fonds n'est que vase, & la terre qui l'enuironne est toute bordee de rochers assez hauts. En ce lieu il y a vne mine d'argent tresbonne, selon le raport du mineur maistre Simon,

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dangerous rocks, and there is no place suitable for vessels except some little shelters for shallops at the end of the island, and three or four rocky islets where the Indians capture numbers of seals. Great tidal currents run there, and especially at Petit Passage of this island, which is very dangerous for ships should any take the risk of sailing through it.[1]

From Long Island passage we made two leagues to the north-east, then found a cove, a quarter of a league or thereabouts in circumference, where vessels may anchor in safety. The bottom is only mud, and the shore round about wholly bordered with rocks of considerable height. In this place there is a very good silver mine, according to the report of

[1] This description of Long Island, except for a considerable exaggeration of its size and of the dangers of Petit Passage, is in general accurate. *Cf.* L. W. Bailey, *Notes on the Geology and Botany of Digby Neck*, in the *Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science*, IX, 1895, 68, and his *Report on the Geology of South-west Nova Scotia*, in the *Report of the Geological Survey of Canada*, Part M, ix., 1898.

The name *isle Longue* was probably used by the fishermen before this time, as was also Petit Passage, which still persists. The little shelters for boats, and the rocky islets, are at Grand Passage, at the southern end of Long Island.

qui estoit auec moy.[1] A quelques lieues plus outre est aussi vne petite riuiere, nommée du Boulay, où la mer monte demy lieue dans les terres, à l'entree de laquelle il y peut librement surgir des nauires du port de cent tonneaux.[2] A vn quart de lieue d'icelle il y a vn port bon pour les vaisseaux où nous

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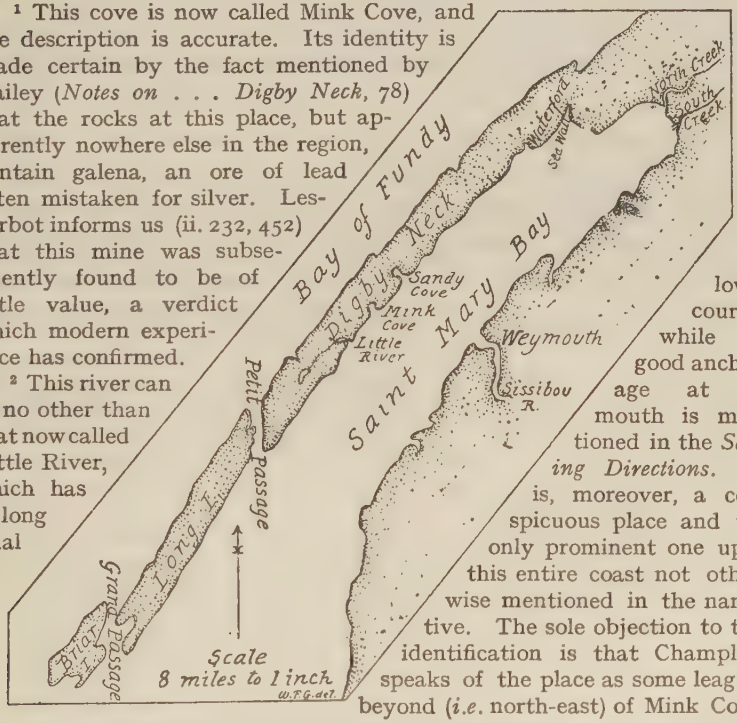
the miner, Master Simon, who was with me.[1] Some leagues farther on is also a little river, named Du Boulay, where the tide runs half a league into the land; and at its mouth vessels of a hundred tons can freely find shelter.[2] A quarter of a league from this place there is a good harbour for vessels, and



[1] This cove is now called Mink Cove, and the description is accurate. Its identity is made certain by the fact mentioned by Bailey (*Notes on . . . Digby Neck*, 78) that the rocks at this place, but apparently nowhere else in the region, contain galena, an ore of lead often mistaken for silver. Lescarbot informs us (ii. 232, 452) that this mine was subsequently found to be of little value, a verdict which modern experience has confirmed.

[2] This river can be no other than that now called Little River, which has a long tidal lower course; while the good anchorage at its mouth is mentioned in the *Sailing Directions*. It is, moreover, a conspicuous place and the only prominent one upon this entire coast not otherwise mentioned in the narrative. The sole objection to this identification is that Champlain speaks of the place as some leagues beyond (*i.e.* north-east) of Mink Cove, whereas it is south-west, but similar slips occur elsewhere.

Du Boulay (usually spelt Boullé), who was a member of Monts' expedition, later became Champlain's brother-in-law. *Cf.* the picture-plan of the settlement at Ste. Croix island, Plate LXXI, p. 278.

trouuâmes vne mine de fer que nostre mineur iugea rēdre p. 15.
cinquante pour cent.[1] Tirant trois lieux plus outre au nordest, nous vismes vne autre mine de fer assez bonne, proche de laquelle il y a vne riuiere enuirōnee de belles & aggreables prairies. Le terroir d'allentour est rouge cōme sang.[2] Quelques lieues plus auant il y a encore vne autre riuiere qui asseche de basse mer, horsmis son cours qui est fort petit, qui va proche du port Royal.[3] Au fonds de ceste baye y a vn achenal qui asseche aussi de basse mer, autour duquel y a nōbre de prez & de bonnes terres pour cultiuer, toutesfois

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there we found an iron-mine which our miner estimated would yield fifty per cent.[1] Sailing north-eastward three leagues farther we saw another rather good iron-mine, near which is a river bordered by fine and pleasant meadows. The soil round about is red like blood.[2] Some leagues farther on is still another river which runs dry at low tide except its channel, which is very small; and this river flows from near Port Royal.[3] At the extremity of this bay is a channel which likewise goes dry at low tide; and about it lie a number of meadows with tracts of land good for cultivation; the latter, moreover,

[1] This harbour is now called Sandy Cove, or East Sandy Cove. The *Sailing Directions* speak of its anchorage as the best in St. Mary's Bay. The iron-mine is obviously that mentioned by Bailey (*op. cit.*, 75) as "on the St. Mary's Bay shore near Sandy Cove." The quarter of a league must have been reckoned from Mink Cove, earlier mentioned, and not from the rivière du Boulay.

[2] This iron-mine must be that at Waterford mentioned by Bailey (*op. cit.*, 75). The distance from Sandy Cove is approximately correct. Moreover, all the coast in this vicinity consists of red sandstones which, according to Bailey (*Report on the Geology of South-west Nova Scotia*, 124), constitute, because of their bright red colour, a conspicuous feature of the landscape. The river bordered by meadows must be the small stream called Sea Wall, just east of Waterford, which is said to have marshes along it.

[3] This river can be no other than North Creek, which the description fits, although the distance of "some leagues" from the last-mentioned mine and river is far too great.

rēplies de quātité de beaux arbres de toutes les sortes que i'ay dit cy dessus.[1] Ceste baye peut auoir depuis l'isle Lōgue iusques au fonds quelque six lieues. Toute la coste des mines est terre assez haute, decouppee par caps, qui paroissent ronds, aduançans vn peu à la mer. De l'autre costé de la baye au suest, les terres sont basses & bonnes, où il y a vn fort bon port, & en son entree vn banc par où il faut passer, qui a de basse mer brasse & demye d'eau, & l'ayant passé on en trouué trois & bon fonds. Entre les deux pointes du port il y a vn islet de caillons qui couure de plaine mer. Ce lieu va demye lieue dans les terres. La mer y baisse de trois brasses, & y a force coquillages, comme moulles coques
p. 16. & bregaux.[a 2] Le terroir est des meilleurs que i'aye veu.

[a] Forme dialectale pour *burgau*, espèce de coquillage.

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filled with numbers of beautiful trees of all the kinds I have previously mentioned.[1] This bay may be from Long Island to its extremity about six leagues in length. This entire coast of the mines consists of high land, cut up into capes which have a rounded aspect and project a little into the sea. On the other side of the bay, to the south-east, the land is low and fertile, with a very good port having at its entrance a bar which must be crossed, upon which there is at low tide a fathom and a half of water but beyond it three fathoms and good bottom. Between the two points of the port lies a gravelly islet covered at high tide. This port runs half a league inland. The tide falls three fathoms, and the place abounds in shellfish, such as mussels, clams, and sea-snails.[2] The soil is among the best I have seen. I named this harbour

[1] This channel must be that now called South Creek, the description of which is accurate. It enters the north-east extremity of St. Mary's Bay.

[2] The list of shellfish here given is the earliest known for any part of Acadia. The identity of the forms is made certain by evidence set out in my paper *Identity, etc.* (see p. 97, note 1).

I'ay nommé ce port, le port saincte Marguerite.[1] Toute ceste coste du suest est terre beaucoup plus basse que celle des mines qui ne sont qu'à vne lieue & demye de la coste du port de saincte Marguerite, de la largeur de la baye, laquelle a trois lieues en son entree.[2] Ie pris la hauteur en ce lieu, & la trouué[a] par les 45. degrez & demy, & vn peu plus de latitude, & 17. degrez 16. minuttes de declinaison de la guide-aymant.[3]

Apres auoir recogneu le plus particulieremēt qu'il me fut possible les coste sports & haures, ie m'en retourné[a] au passage de l'isle Longue sans passer plus outre, d'où ie reuins par le dehors de toutes les isles, pour remarquer s'il y auoit

[a] La forme du participe passé se trouve assez fréquemment pour le passé défini.

Port St. Margaret.[1] This whole south-east coast is much lower than that where the mines occur, which are but a league and a half from the coast of Port St. Margaret, across the bay, though it is three leagues in width at its mouth.[2] I took the altitude at this place, and found the latitude to be 45 degrees and a half and a little more, with 17 degrees 16 minutes of magnetic variation.[3]

After having explored as minutely as I could these coasts, ports, and harbours, I returned to the passage of Long Island, without advancing any farther. Thence I went back outside all the islands in order to observe whether there were any dangers on the seaward side; but we found none at all,

[1] This name was no doubt given, as Laverdière suggests, from the circumstance that it was St. Marguerite's day (June 10) on which our author entered this port. The name did not persist, and the place is now known as Weymouth, at the mouth of the Sissibou River.

[2] This bay was named by Champlain *la baye saincte Marie* (see p. 252 *infra*). He made its length somewhat too great, and there are some minor errors already noted, but otherwise the entire description is remarkably accurate and discriminating. On this exploration he must have been accompanied either by some sailor who had previously known the place, or, as is more likely, by Indians; for otherwise he could hardly have discovered in so hasty a voyage so many mineral deposits, including substantially all of importance that are known at this day.

[3] Its exact latitude is 44° 26′, suggesting that his figure 45 is a mistake for 44. The place is clearly marked and named on Champlain's map of 1632, though he has it a little too far to the southward.

point quelques dangers vers l'eau : mais nous n'en trouuâmes point, sinon aucuns rochers qui sont à prés de demye lieue des isles aux loups marins, que l'on peut esuiter facilement : d'autant que la mer brise par dessus.[1] Continuant nostre voyage nous fusmes surpris d'vn grand coup de vent qui nous contraignit d'eschouer nostre barque à la coste, où nous courusmes risque de la perdre : ce qui nous eut mis en vne extresme peine. La tourmente estant cessee nous nous remismes en la mer : & le lendemain nous arriuasmes au port
p. 17. du Mouton, où le sieur de Mons nous attendoit de iour en iour ne sachãt que pẽser de nostre seiour, sinon qu'il nous fust arriué quelque fortune.[2] Ie luy fis relatiõ de tout nostre voyage & où nos vaisseaux pouuoyent aller en seureté. Cependant ie cõsideré fort particulieremẽt ce lieu, lequel est par les 44. degrez de latitude.[3] [PLANCHE : PORT AU MOUTON.]

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except some rocks which lie about half a league from Seal Islands and can easily be avoided inasmuch as the sea breaks over them.[1] Continuing our voyage we were caught in a bad gale, which forced us to run our pinnace ashore on the coast, where we almost lost her, which would have placed us in dire distress. The storm over, we set sail again, and the next day arrived at Port Mouton, where the Sieur de Monts was expecting us from day to day, not knowing what to think of our delay except that some accident must have happened to us.[2] I gave him an account of our whole trip, and told him where our vessels might proceed in safety. Meanwhile I made a particular study of this place, which lies in 44° of latitude.[3] [PLATE LXVI.]

[1] These rocks are obviously the well-known shoals south of Seal Island. This passage makes it clear that Champlain meant the name *Isles aux Loups Marins* to include the present Seal Islands, a point left doubtful by his earlier description (p. 243 *supra*).

[2] The omission here of dates makes it impossible to determine how long Champlain was absent. Lescarbot (ii. 230) says the expedition spent a month at Port Mouton ; but this was doubtless a round number for a somewhat shorter time, and Slafter is probably correct in giving the length of Champlain's absence as about three weeks (*Champlain*, ii. 18).

[3] The real latitude of Port Mouton is 43° 54′.

Le lendemain le sieur de Mons fit leuer les ancres pour aller à la baye saincte Marie,[1] lieu qu'auions recogneu propre pour nostre vaisseau, attendant que nous en eussions trouué vn autre plus commode pour nostre demeure. Rengeant la coste nous passames proche du cap de Sable & des isles aux loups marins, où le sieur de Mons se delibera d'aller dans vne chalouppe voir quelques isles dont nous luy auions faict recit, & du nõbre infini d'oiseaux qu'il y auoit. Il s'y mit donc accompagné du sieur de Poitrincourt & de plusieurs autres gẽtilshõmes en intẽtion d'aller en l'isle aux Tangueux,[2] où nous auiõs auparauãt tué quãtité de ces oyseaux à coups de baston. Estant vn peu loing de nostre nauire il fut hors de nostre puissance de la gaigner, & encore moins nostre vaisseau : car la maree estoit si forte que nous fusmes cõtrains de p. 18.

On the following day the Sieur de Monts had the anchors weighed in order to proceed to St. Mary's Bay,[1] which we had found suitable for our vessel, whilst we meanwhile sought out another locality better fitted for our residence. Coasting the shore, we passed close to Cape Sable and to the Seal Islands, at which point the Sieur de Monts decided to go in a shallop to view some islands whereof we had given him an account, as well as of the infinite number of birds there. He set off accordingly, accompanied by the Sieur de Poutrincourt and several other noblemen, with the intention of going to Gannet Island,[2] where we had previously killed numbers of these birds by blows of a club. Having gone some distance from our ship, we were unable to reach the island, and still less to regain our vessel ; for the tide was so strong that

[1] This name still persists in the form St. Mary, or St. Mary's, Bay. Its origin is nowhere mentioned in this narrative, but in the edition of 1632 Champlain says, "This bay was named the bay Saincte Marie," implying that the name was given by this expedition and was not previously in use. One of the feasts of St. Mary, the mother of St. James, fell on May 25.

[2] See p. 242, *supra*, note 3.

relascher en vn petit islet, pour y passer celle nuict, auquel y auoit grand nombre de Gibier. I'y tué quelques oyseaux de riuiere, qui nous seruirent bien : d'autāt que nous n'auiōs pris qu'vn peu de biscuit, croyās retourner ce mesme iour. Le lendemain nous fusmes au cap Fourchu, distant de là, demye lieue.[1] Rengeant la coste nous fusmes trouuer nostre vaisseau qui estoit en la baye saincte Marye. Nos gens furent
p. 19. fort en peine de nous l'espace de deux iours, craignant qu'il nous fust arriué quelque malheur : mais quand ils nous virent en lieu de seureté, celà leur donna beaucoup de resiouissance.

Deux ou trois iours aprés nostre arriuee, vn de nos prestres, appellé mesire Aubry, de la ville de Paris, s'esgara si bien dans vn bois en allant chercher son espee laquelle il y auoit oublyee, qu'il ne peut retrouuer le vaisseau : & fut 17. iours ainsi sans aucune chose pour se substanter, que quelques herbes seures & aigrettes comme de l'oseille, & des petits fruits de peu de

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we were obliged to put in at a small islet in order to pass the night. Here were great numbers of waterfowl. I killed some river-birds, which stood us in good stead inasmuch as we had taken along only a few biscuits, expecting to return that same day. The next day we proceeded to Cape Fourchu, half a league distant.[1] Keeping along the coast we discovered our vessel, which was in St. Mary's Bay. Our people were very anxious about us for two whole days, fearing lest some misfortune had befallen us; but when they saw we were quite safe, it greatly rejoiced them.

Two or three days after our arrival, one of our priests named Master Aubry, of the city of Paris, on going to fetch his sword which he had forgotten, lost his way in the woods so completely that he could not find the vessel again; and was seventeen days in this state without anything to live upon except some sour and bitter herbs resembling sorrel, and little fruits

[1] If this distance is correct, it shows that our voyagers were swept past the islands they wished to visit, and were carried by the tide to the north-west, where they spent the night upon one of the islands off Chebogue Harbour.

substãce, gros comme groiselles, qui viennent rempant sur la terre.[1] Estant au bout de son rollet, sans esperance de nous reuoir iamais, foible & debile, il se trouua du costé de la baye Françoise, ainsi nommee par le sieur de Mons, proche de l'isle Longue, où il n'en pouuoit plus, quand l'vne de nos chalouppes allãt à la pesche du poisson, l'aduisa, qui ne pouuant appeller leur faisoit signe auec vne gaule au bout de laquelle il auoit mis son chappeau, qu'on l'allast requerir : ce qu'ils firent aussi tost & l'ammenerent. Le sieur de Mons l'auoit faict chercher, tant par les siens que des sauuages du païs, qui coururent tout le bois & n'en apporterent aucunes nouuelles. Le tenant pour mort, on le voit reuenir dans la chalouppe au grand contentement d'vn chacun : Et fut vn p. 20. long temps à se remettre en son premier estat.[2]

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of small substance, as large as currants, which creep upon the ground.[1] Being at his wits' end, without hope of ever seeing us again, feeble and weak, he found himself on the shore of French Bay, as it was named by the Sieur de Monts, near Long Island, where he was completely exhausted, when one of our shallops, going out to fish, caught sight of him. Unable to call to them, he signalled to them to come after him by means of a pole, on the end of which he had placed his hat. They did so immediately, and brought him away. The Sieur de Monts had had search made for him both by his own men and by the Indians of the country, who had scoured the woods everywhere but had brought back no news of him. Believing him dead, they see him, much to every one's satisfaction, return in the shallop, but it was a long time before he was restored to his original health.[2]

[1] The first-mentioned plants, resembling sorrel, were probably the common wood-sorrel (*Oxalis Acetosella* Linn.), while the second was doubtless, as Slafter thought, the partridge-berry (*Mitchella repens* Linn.), which the description well fits (cf. *Identity, etc.*, 217, 220).

[2] Lescarbot (ii. 232–3 and 243–4) gives a much fuller account of Aubry's misadventure. His full name was Nicolas Aubry, a Parisian ecclesiastic of good family, who had come upon this expedition against

Description dv Port Royal et des particularitez d'iceluy. De l'isle Haute. Du port aux mines. De la grãde baye Françoise. De la riuiere S. Iean, & ce que nous auons remarqué depuis le port aux mines iusques à icelle. De l'isle appelee par les sauuages Manthane. De la riuiere des Etechemins, & de plusieurs belles isles qui y sont. De l'isle de S. Croix : & autres choses remarquables d'icelle coste.

CHAP. III.

A QUELQUES iours de là, le sieur de Mons se delibera d'aller descouurir les costes de la baye Frãçoise : & pour cet effect partit du vaisseau[1] le 16. de May,[2] & passames par le destroit de l'isle Lõgue.[3] N'ayant trouué

CHAPTER III

Description of Port Royal, with the particulars thereof : of Isle Haute : of the Port of Mines : of the great French Bay : of the river St. John, and our observations from the Port of Mines thither : of the island called by the Indians Manthane : of the river of the Etechemins, and of many fine islands thereabouts : of the island of Ste. Croix ; and other noteworthy features of this coast.

SOME days later the Sieur de Monts resolved to go and explore the coasts of French Bay, for which purpose he set off from the vessel[1] on the sixteenth of May ;[2] and we passed through the strait of Long Island.[3] Having

the wishes of his friends. He was lost on Long Island, becoming confused by passing to the outer shore which he mistook for that upon which he had landed. When he did not return, it was suspected that he had been murdered by a Protestant with whom he had disputed about religion. He was found by an expedition sent by Monts from Ste. Croix island to re-examine the mines of St. Mary's Bay. He happily survived his Acadian experiences, for he was living in France in 1612 (*Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites' ed., ii. 185). When Lescarbot says that Aubry was lost twelve or thirteen days after the arrival of the expedition at St. Mary's Bay, he means two or three, as Laverdière has shown (iii. 16).

[1] Monts, with Champlain and a small crew of sailors, made these explorations, precisely as Champlain had made his earlier, in the long-boat, leaving their vessel meanwhile in safe haven. The noblemen remaining with the ship in St. Mary's Bay were no doubt content with the charms of free and abounding sport in the beautiful Acadian summer. French Bay, as the reader will recall, was the Bay of Fundy. See p. 245, note 3.

[2] May should here read June, as the context shows (*cf.* Laverdière, iii. 17).

[3] Now Petit Passage (see *supra*, p. 246).

en la baye S. Marie aucun lieu pour nous fortiffier qu'auec beaucoup de tẽps, celà nous fit resoudre de voir si à l'autre il n'y en auroit point de plus propre. Mettãt le cap au nordest 6. lieux, il y a vne ance où les vaisseaux peuuẽt mouiller l'ancre à 4. 5. 6. & 7. brasses d'eau. Le fonds est Sable. Ce lieu n'est que cõme vne rade.[1] Continuãt au mesme vent deux lieux, nous entrasmes en l'vn des beaux[a] ports que i'eusse veu en toutes ces costes, où il pourroit deux mille vaisseaux en seureté. L'entree est large de huict cens pas : puis on entre dedans vn port qui a deux lieux de long & vne lieue de large, que i'ay nommé port Royal,[2] où dessendent trois riuieres, p. 21. dont il y en a vne assez grande, tirant à l'est, appellee la riuiere

[a] A lire, *des plus beaux.*

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found in St. Mary's Bay no place where we might fortify ourselves, except after a long delay, we determined to ascertain whether there might not be some more suitable place in the other bay. Standing to the north-east six leagues, we came to a cove where vessels can anchor in four, five, six, and seven fathoms, with sandy bottom. This place is only, as it were, a roadstead.[1] Continuing two leagues on the same course, we entered one of the finest harbours I had seen on all these coasts, where a couple of thousand vessels could lie in safety. The entrance is eight hundred paces wide, and leads into a port two leagues long and one league wide, which I named Port Royal.[2] Into it fall three rivers, one of which tending towards the east is rather large and is called Equille

[1] It is now called Gullivers Hole.

[2] This name persisted throughout the French régime, but became replaced, under English occupation, by that of Annapolis Basin. Lescarbot states (ii. 234) that it was given by Monts, but Champlain repeated his statement in 1632, and as he is careful to give Monts the credit for the authorship of other names (*e.g.* baye Françoise, isle de Sainte Croix), it seems improbable that he could be wholly mistaken in this case. Champlain must at least have suggested the name, even though it received its formal sanction from the official leader of the expedition.

de l'Equille,[1] qui est vn petit poisson de la grandeur d'vn Esplan, qui s'y pesche en quantité, cōme aussi on fait du Harang, & plusieurs autres sortes de poisson qui y sont en abondance en leurs saisons. Ceste riuiere a prés d'vn quart de lieue de large en son entree, où il y a vne isle,[2] laquelle peut contenir demye lieue de circuit, remplie de bois ainsi que tout le reste du terroir, comme pins, sapins, pruches, boulleaux, trābles, & quelques chesnes qui sont parmy les

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river,[1] which is the name of a little fish of the size of a smelt, caught there in plenty, as likewise are the herring and several other kinds of fish found there abundantly in their seasons. This river is about a quarter of a league wide at its mouth, where there is an island,[2] some half a league in circumference, which, like the rest of the land, is covered with such trees as pines, firs, spruces, birches, aspens, and amongst the others some oaks in limited number. There are two entrances to

[1] Now called Annapolis River. According to Lescarbot (ii. 234), it received this name *Equille* from the first fish caught there. This was the common little sand-eel (*Ammodytes americanus* De Kay); for that is the nearest American representative, and a close one, of the European *Equille*, which does not occur in America (*Identity of Animals and Plants*, 215). The river was soon renamed the *Dauphin* (Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, ii. 237, and his map of Port Royal), one of a considerable number of names, now mostly extinct, which appear on Lescarbot's map of Port Royal of 1609, but of which there is no trace in the writings or maps of Champlain. These names were, no doubt, given not long before the publication of Lescarbot's book, by the Sieur de Poutrincourt, a friend of Lescarbot, as part of a somewhat elaborate plan for the colonisation of this place, of which Poutrincourt had received a grant.

Although the name Equille did not long persist for Annapolis River, it has reappeared upon our charts in the form *Lequille*, but applied to the much smaller stream commonly called Allens River. This erroneous identification no doubt originated with Haliburton in his *History of Nova Scotia*, 1829, i. 15.

[2] Now called Goat Island, a translation from the French, as Denys' *isle aux Chevres* attests (*Description*, i. 52; Champlain Society's ed., 123). On Lescarbot's map of 1609 it is named Biencourville, obviously for Biencourt, Poutrincourt's son.

autres bois en petit nombre. Il y a deux entrees en ladite riuiere, l'vne du costé du nort : l'autre au su de l'isle. Celle du nort est la meilleure, où les vaisseaux peuuent mouiller l'ancre à l'abry de l'isle à 5. 6. 7. 8. & 9. brasses d'eau : mais il faut se donner garde [de] quelques basses qui sont tenant à l'isle, & a la grand terre, fort dangereuses, si on n'a recogneu l'achenal.[1]

Nous fusmes quelques 14. ou 15. lieux où la mer monte, & ne va pas beaucoup plus auant dedans les terres pour porter basteaux : En ce lieu elle contient 60. pas de large, & enuiron brasse & demye d'eau. Le terroir de ceste riuiere est remply de force chesnes, fresnes & autres bois. De l'entree de la riuiere iusques au lieu où nous fusmes y a nombre de preries : p. 22.
mais elles sont innondees aux grãdes marees, y ayant quantité de petits ruisseaux qui trauersent d'vne part & d'autre, par

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the said river, one on the north and the other on the south side of the island. That on the north side is the better, and vessels can anchor there under the shelter of the island in five, six, seven, eight, and nine fathoms; but it is necessary to be on one's guard for some shoals which lie near the island and the mainland, and are very dangerous if one has not surveyed the channel.[1]

We went up some fourteen or fifteen leagues as far as the tide reaches, and the river is not of sufficient size to carry boats much farther inland. At this place it is sixty paces wide and about a fathom and a half deep. The shores of this river are covered with numerous oaks, ashes, and other trees. From the mouth of the river to the point we reached are many meadows, but these are flooded at high tide, there being numbers of little creeks leading here and there, up which shallops and boats

[1] Laverdière stated (*Œuvres*, iii. 18) that the northern passage was called *Bonne passe* and the southern *passe aux Fous*: but he was evidently relying upon the map of Port Royal given by Charlevoix in his *Histoire* of 1744. Locally these names appear to be unknown. It is of interest to note that the map in Charlevoix has the name *Lescarbotine* for a shoal south-west of isle aux Chèvres.

où des chalouppes & batteaux peuuẽt aller de pleine mer.[1] Ce lieu estoit le plus propre & plaisant pour habiter que nous eussions veu. Dedans le port y a vne autre isle, distante de la premiere prés de deux lieues, où il y a vne autre petite riuiere qui va assez auant dans les terres, que nous auons nommée la riuiere sainct Antoine.[2] Son entree est distante du fonds de la baye saincte Marie de quelque quatre lieux par le trauers des bois. Pour ce qui est de l'autre riuiere ce n'est qu'vn ruisseau remply de rochers, où on ne peut monter en aucune façon que ce soit, pour le peu d'eau : & a esté nommee, le ruisseau de la roche.[3] Ce lieu est par la hauteur de 45. degrez de latitude & 17. degrez 8. minuttes de declinaison
p. 23. de la guide-ayment.[4] [PLANCHE : PORT ROYAL.]

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may pass at high tide.[1] This place was the most suitable and pleasant for a settlement that we had seen. Within the port is a second island, distant from the first about two leagues, where there is another little river which runs some distance into the country; and this we named the River St. Anthony.[2] Its mouth is distant from the head of St. Mary's Bay some four leagues through the woods. As for the remaining river, it is merely a brook full of rocks, which cannot be ascended at all on account of lack of water. It was named Rocky Brook.[3] This place is in latitude 45°, and the magnetic variation is 17° 8′.[4] [PLATE LXVII.]

[1] The marshes along the Annapolis River are very well shown, in their later dyked and reclaimed condition, on a map made in 1733 by the surveyor George Mitchell, and reproduced in *Acadiensis*, 1903, iii. 294, and also in A. G. Doughty, *The Journal of Captain John Knox*, i., map at end (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1914).

[2] This name did not long persist, for Lescarbot's map of 1609 designates this river *Hebert R.*, of which the present name Bear River is apparently an English corruption. This name and Moose River are the only ones on Lescarbot's map that have survived.

[3] The present Deep Brook.

[4] The latitude of the part of Port Royal where the settlement was situated is 44° 42′ 30″.

Champlain's account of Port Royal, or Annapolis Basin, as one might

Aprés auoir recogneu ce port, nous en partismes pour aller p. 24.
plus auant dans la baye Françoise, & voir si nous ne trouuerions point la mine de cuiure qui auoit esté descouuerte l'annee precedēte.[1] Mettant le cap au nordest huict ou dix lieux rengeant la coste du port Royal, nous trauersames vne partie de la baye comme de quelque cinq ou six lieues ; iusques à vn lieu qu'auons nommé le cap des deux bayes :[2] & passames par vne isle qui en est à vne lieue, laquelle contient autant de circuit, esleuée de 40. ou 45. toises de haut : toute entouree de gros rochers, hors-mis en vn endroit qui est en talus, au pied duquel y a vn estang d'eau sallee, qui vient par dessoubs vne poincte de cailloux, ayant la forme d'vn esperon. Le dessus de l'isle est plat, couuert d'arbres auec vne fort

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Having explored this port, we set out from it in order to go farther into French Bay and see if we could find the copper mine which had been discovered in the previous year.[1] Steering north-east for eight or ten leagues along the coast of Port Royal, we crossed a portion of the bay for a distance of some five or six leagues, to a point which we have named the cape of the Two Bays.[2] We passed an island a league from the latter, and the same distance in circumference. It is forty or forty-five fathoms in height, and wholly surrounded by great cliffs except in one place where there is a slope, at the foot of which lies a pond of salt water, that comes from beneath a gravelly point having the form of a spur. The summit of the island is flat, covered with trees, and has a very fine

expect from his residence there of nearly two years, is both adequate and accurate. All the early voyagers who saw the place were won by its charms, and Lescarbot, Denys, and Diéreville gave appreciative descriptions.

[1] See *supra*, pp. 169 and 180, and *infra*, pp. 262 and 374.

[2] Cape Chignecto. The earlier name, descriptive of its position between Minas Basin and Chignecto Bay, persisted for a time in French records, but was soon displaced by the native name now in use.

belle source d'eau.[1] En ce lieu y a vne mine de cuiure. De là nous fusmes à vn port [2] qui en est à vne lieue & demye, où iugeâmes qu'estoit la mine de cuiure qu'vn nommé Preuert de sainct Maslo auoit descouuerte par le moyen des sauuages du païs. Ce port est soubs les 45. degrez deux tiers de latitude, lequel asseche de basse mer. Pour entrer dedans il faut ballizer & recognoistre vne batture de Sable qui est à l'entree, laquelle va rengeant vn canal suiuant l'autre costé de
p. 25. terre ferme : puis on entre dans vne baye qui contient prés d'vne lieue de long, & demye de large. En quelques endroits

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spring of water.[1] In this place there is a copper mine. Thence we went to a port [2] a league and a half distant, where we thought was the copper mine which a certain Prévert of St. Malo had discovered by means of the Indians of that country. This port lies in latitude 45° 40′, and is dry at low tide. To enter one must lay down buoys, and mark a sandbar which lies at the entrance, and runs along a channel parallel with the opposite coast of the mainland. Then one enters a bay about a league in length and half a league in width. In some places the bottom is muddy and sandy, and vessels can

[1] Although Champlain does not here name this island, on his map on Plate LXVIII, p. 263, it is called *Isle Haute*, which still persists, variously corrupted, even to Isle Holt, but called locally Isle au Haut. Champlain's description is accurate except for the distance from cape of the Two Bays and Port of Mines, which he reduces to half the true amount. In the explanation to his map of 1632, under the number 95, he gives another full description of the island, about which the keeper of the lighthouse, Mr. Percy E. Morris, has most obligingly sent me a great deal of information. It is over three hundred feet high and steep all around except for two slopes, one at the extreme west end, and another, the more important, on the north-east side. There are two or three springs on top of the island, and a very fine one on the northern slope. Copper is known to occur on the beach near the middle of the north side. Near the north-east end is the little pond of which Champlain speaks. Its brackish water is held up by a gravelly beach through which, without any definite channel, the waters work both out and in; for its level is raised by the highest tides.

[2] Advocate harbour. See p. 262, note 1.

le fonds est vaseux & sablonneux, & les vaisseaux y peuuent eschouer. La mer y pert & croist de 4. à 5. brasses.[1] Nous y mismes pied à terre pour voir si nous verrions les mines que Preuerd nous auoit dit. Et ayant faict enuiron vn quart de lieue le long de certaines montagnes, nous ne trouuasmes aucune d'icelles, ny ne recognusmes nulle apparēce de la descriptiō du port selon qu'il nous l'auoit figuré : Aussi n'y auoit il pas esté : mais bien deux ou trois des siens guidés de quelques sauuages, partie par terre & partie par de petites riuieres ; qu'il attendit dans sa chalouppe en la baye sainct Laurens,[2] à l'entree d'vne petite riuiere : lesquels à leur retour luy apporterent plusieurs petits morceaux de cuiure,

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there lie aground. The tide falls and rises from four to five fathoms.[1] We landed to see whether we could discover the mines of which Prévert had told us. But after going about a quarter of a league along certain mountains, we found none of them, nor could we recognise any resemblance to the description of the port such as he had pictured it to us. He had, indeed, never been there, but two or three of his men, guided by some Indians, had gone thither, partly by land and partly along small rivers, whilst he awaited them in his shallop in the bay of St. Lawrence [2] at the mouth of a little river. These men on their return brought him several small

[1] Port of Mines is now called Advocate harbour, while the old name became transferred to the greater Minas Basin. The latitude is 45° 20′. Champlain's description is accurate, as I know from my own observation. He visited the place again a year later (see p. 374 *infra*).

Apart from its importance in Champlain's mind by the presence of copper, Advocate harbour is a striking and noteworthy place. The great elevated rugged plateau which separates Minas and Cumberland Basins and projects out into the lofty Cape Chignecto, here opens triangle-wise towards the bay, leaving a gravelly plain sloping gently under the sea and forming a beautiful site for the neat little village of Advocate. It is a charming and inviting oasis amid a great wilderness of lofty wooded ridges cut by the sea into colossal cliffs.

[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 169-70 and 180-4.

qu'il nous mōstra au retour de son voyage. Toutesfois nous trouuasmes en ce port deux mines de cuiure non en nature, mais par apparence, selon le rapport du mineur qui les iugea
p. 26. estre tresbonnes.[1] [PLANCHE: PORT DES MINES.]

p. 27. Le fonds de la baye Françoise que nous trauersames entre quinze lieux dans les terres.[2] Tout le païs que nous auons veu depuis le petit passage de l'isle Longue rangeant la coste, ne sont que rochers, où il n'y a aucun endroit où les vaisseaux se puissent mettre en seureté, sinon le port Royal. Le païs est remply de quantité de pins & boulleaux, & à mon aduis n'est pas trop bon.

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pieces of copper, which he showed us when he came back from his voyage. Nevertheless, in this port we found two copper mines, not in the native state, but apparently that metal, according to the miner, who considered them very good.[1]

[PLATE LXVIII.]

The head of French Bay which we crossed extends fifteen leagues inland.[2] All the country we had seen in ranging the coast from Petit Passage of Long Island is nothing but rocks, without any place where vessels can lie in safety except Port Royal. The country is covered with numerous pines and birches, and in my opinion is none too good.

[1] Native copper occurs at several points in the trap rocks of this region, and has been worked, though not as yet profitably. The particular spot covered twice daily by the tide (*cf.* p. 375 *infra*) is probably that lying near the outer end, on the Advocate side, of the great ledges which extend seaward from the jagged trap masses forming Black Point, at a place only uncovered at low tides. Here many nuggets of pure copper are found, and thin sheets of pure copper project from narrow crevices in the columnar trap rocks. These sheets are the more abundant the lower the level exposed by the tides. So perfectly does this locality fit the data supplied by Champlain, that there can be no question of its identity. He did not find it, evidently, upon this visit, but discovered it over a year later by aid of the Indian chief Secoudon, as described on p. 374 *infra*. He made a third visit to the place two years later (p. 454).

[2] Minas Channel and the Basin of Minas. The correct distance is double this.

Le 20. de May[1] nous partismes du port aux mines pour chercher vn lieu propre à faire vne demeure arrestee afin de ne perdre point de temps : pour puis apres y reuenir veoir si nous pourrions descouurir la mine de cuiure franc que les gens de Preuerd auoient trouuee par le moyen des sauuages. Nous fismes l'ouest deux lieux iusques au cap des deux bayes :[2] puis le nort cinq ou six lieux : & trauersames l'autre baye,[3] où nous iugions estre ceste mine de cuiure, dont nous auons desia parlé : d'autāt qu'il y a deux riuieres : l'vne venāt de deuers le cap Breton : & l'autre du costé de Gaspe ou de Tregatté, proche de la grande riuiere de sainct Laurens.[4]

On the twentieth of May[1] we set out from Port of Mines to seek without loss of time a place suitable for making a permanent settlement, in order afterwards to return and see whether we could discover the mine of pure copper which Prévert's men had found through the help of the Indians. We sailed westward two leagues as far as the cape of the Two Bays,[2] then northward five or six leagues, and crossed the other bay[3] in which we thought was this copper mine whereof we have already spoken, inasmuch as there are two rivers, one coming from the direction of Cape Breton, and the other from the coast of Gaspé or Tracadie, near the great river St. Lawrence.[4] Sailing west some six leagues we

[1] This should be June, for the twenty-fourth of the month was St. John's Day (see p. 266).

[2] Cape Chignecto. See p. 260.

[3] Chignecto Bay. Champlain's north was magnetic, and hence west of true north. Accordingly he must have reached the north coast of Chignecto Bay about Martin's Head. This head, I believe, is represented on Champlain's map of 1612 by the largest of the islands upon this coast. Upon this same map Champlain names Chignecto Bay (figure 6) *Baye de Gennes*, a name which has not persisted. See Plate LXXXI.

[4] This passage is obscure, but I take it to mean that Champlain, finding the copper at Port of Mines so much less abundant than he had been led by Prévert's report to expect, concluded that the mine might lie in the other, or Chignecto, branch of French Bay. To show that this view was consistent with the visit of Prévert's men, he added the statement,

Faisant l'ouest quelques six lieues nous fusmes à vne petite riuiere, à l'entree de laquelle y a vn cap assez bas, qui aduance à la mer : & vn peu dans les terres vne mõtaigne qui a la
p. 28. forme d'vn chappeau de Cardinal.[1] En ce lieu nous trouuasmes vne mine de fer.[2] Il n'y a ancrage que pour des chalouppes. A quatre lieux à l'ouest surouest y a vne pointe de rocher[3] qui auance vn peu vers l'eau, où il y a de grandes

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came to a little river, at the mouth of which a rather low cape projects into the sea ; and a little way inland there is a mountain having the shape of a cardinal's hat.[1] At this place we found an iron-mine.[2] There is anchorage only for shallops. Four leagues to the west-south-west lies a rocky point,[3] which

derived from fishermen or Indians, that into this branch there come two rivers, one from the direction of Gaspé (viz. the Memramcook, with a portage from Shediac), and the other from the direction of Cape Breton (viz. the Missaguash, with a portage to Baie Verte), by either of which Prévert's men might have come. This is the interpretation put upon this passage by De Laet (*L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, 1640, 56), who, though not an original authority, is often of use for the explanation of contemporary works. *Cf.* p. 169 *supra.* Champlain subsequently explored Chignecto Bay, in search of the copper mine, as related at p. 278 *infra*, when he found for himself that the Port of Mines was the very locality visited by Prévert's men (*cf.* p. 374 *infra*, and Lescarbot, ii. 239).

[1] Quaco River and Quaco Head, which, near its extremity where the lighthouse stands, ends in a low island and reefs. The mountain is that called locally Porcupine Mountain, some eight or nine miles inland, which stands out among its neighbours with a broad flattened cone. Slafter's Mount Theobald (*op. cit.*, 28) is the name of a former settlement on its slope. The anchorage is in Quaco Cove. In addition Champlain marks upon his maps of 1607 and 1612 an *isle perdue*, which probably represents Quaco Shoal, but which is perhaps the low island on which was formerly the lighthouse, off Quaco Head.

[2] The geological map places no iron here, but at the cape it does show manganese, an ore very easily mistaken for iron. The *R. S. Louis* of the map of 1612 is, I think, Vaughans Creek. The headland just east of this creek is now called locally point St. Tooley, probably a persistence of Champlain's St. Louis.

[3] This can be no other than McCoys Head, though I can find no modern mention of dangerous tides. Just east of it lies Red Head, part of which is separated as an island, obviously the *Isle rouge* of the map of 1607, and the *C. rouge* on Champlain's map of 1612. See Plates LXXX-LXXXI.

marees, qui sont fort dangereuses. Proche de la pointe nous vismes vne ance qui a enuiron demye lieue de circuit, en laquelle trouuasmes vne autre mine de fer, qui est aussi tresbonne.[1] A quatre lieux encore plus de l'aduant y a vne belle baye qui entre dans les terres, où au fonds y a trois isles & vn rocher :[2] dont deux sont à vne lieue du cap tirant à l'ouest : & l'autre est à l'emboucheure d'vne riuiere des plus grandes & profondes qu'eussions encore veues, que nommasmes la riuiere S. Iean : pource que ce fut ce iour là que nous y arriuasmes :[3] & des sauuages elle est appelee Ouygoudy. Ceste riuiere est dangereuse si on ne recognoist bien certaines pointes & rochers qui sont des deux costez. Elle est estroicte en son entree, puis vient à s'eslargir : & ayant doublé vne pointe elle estrecit de rechef, & fait comme vn

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projects a little out to sea; and here run strong tidal currents which are very dangerous. Near this point we saw a cove about a half league in circumference, wherein we found another iron-mine which is also very good.[1] Four leagues farther on there is a fine bay, running into the land, and at its head lie three islands and a rock.[2] Two of these islands are a league distant from the cape toward the west, and the other is at the mouth of one of the largest and deepest rivers we had yet seen, which we named the river St. John, because it was on that day we arrived there.[3] By the Indians it is called Ouygoudy. This river is dangerous if one does not take careful note of certain points and rocks lying on both sides. At its mouth it is narrow, but immediately expands. After

[1] The cove west of McCoys Head, in which the map of the Geological Survey marks an iron-mine. The rocky islets called *The Sisters* are represented as an island at this place on Champlain's map of 1612. The presence of the iron-mine explains the name Mine Cape (C. de Mine) applied apparently to McCoys Head (letter 8) on Champlain's map of 1612 (Plate LXXXI).

[2] The St. John river. *Cf.* p. 268, note 1.

[3] June 24, 1604.

saut entre deux grands rochers, où l'eau y court d'vne si grande vitesse, que y jettant du bois il enfonce en bas, & ne le voit on plus. Mais attendant la pleine mer, l'on peut passer fort aisement ce destroict : & lors elle s'eslargit comme
p. 29. d'vne lieue par aucuns endroicts, où il y a trois isles. Nous ne la recogneusmes pas plus auant : Toutesfois Ralleau Secretaire du sieur de Mons y fut quelque tẽps apres trouuer vn sauuage appellé Secondon [1] chef de ladicte riuiere, lequel nous raporta qu'elle estoit belle, grãde & spacieuse : y ayant quantité de preries & beaux bois, comme chesnes, hestres, noyers & lambruches de vignes sauuages. Les habitans du pays vont par icelle riuiere iusques à Tadoussac, qui est dans la grande riuiere de sainct Laurens : & ne passent que peu de terre pour y paruenir. De la riuiere sainct Iean iusques à Tadoussac y a 65. lieues. A l'entree d'icelle, qui

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rounding a point it narrows again and forms a waterfall between two lofty cliffs, where the water runs with such great swiftness that if a piece of wood be thrown in, it sinks and is never seen again. But by waiting for high tide one can pass this place very easily, and then the river broadens to as much as a league in certain places, and has three islands. We did not explore it farther. However, Ralleau, the Sieur de Monts' secretary, went there some time afterwards to find an Indian named Secoudon,[1] chief of that river, and he reported that it was beautiful, large and wide, with quantities of meadows and fine trees, such as oaks, beeches, butternuts, and wild grape vines. The inhabitants of the country pass up this river as far as Tadoussac, which is on the great river St. Lawrence, and go overland only a short distance to reach that place. From the river St. John to Tadoussac the dis-

[1] As Lescarbot calls him *Chkoudun*, his name was probably *Secoudon*. Concerning this chief see pp. 374, 393 and 436 *infra*.

est par la hauteur de 45. degrez deux tiers, y a vne mine de fer.[1] [PLANCHE : R. ST. IEHAN.] p. 30.

De la riuiere sainct Iean nous fusmes à quatre isles, en p. 31.
l'vne desquelles nous mismes pied à terre, & y trouuasmes grande quantité d'oiseaux appellez Margos,[2] dont nous

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tance is sixty-five leagues. At its mouth, which is in latitude 45° 40′, there is an iron-mine.[1] [PLATE LXIX.]

From the river St. John we proceeded towards four islands, on one of which we landed, and found there great numbers of birds called margos ;[2] we captured many of their young,

[1] Champlain's description of the mouth of the river St. John is in most respects accurate. The name has been in use from that time to this ; but Champlain is wrong in his statement that its native name is Ouygoudy, for there is ample evidence that this word is simply the Micmac word for a camp-ground. Its Indian name is Woolastook (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, V, 1899, ii. 229). The two islands, a league from the cape westward, were the Manawagonish Islands (Meogenes, Mahogany, thus variously spelled on the maps), while the cape must be that at the western entrance to the river, now called Negro Town point. It is called *C. S. Iean* on the map of 1612, and located apparently on an island, which I take to be simply a crude representation of the peninsula between the Millpond (of his map of the harbour) and the Bay of Fundy. The rock he mentions is of course the prominent Shag Rocks, west of Partridge Island. The account of the fall is correct, albeit with some exaggeration about the disappearance of the wood ; and Champlain's is the first of a long series of descriptions of this really remarkable geographical feature, now commonly known as the Reversing Falls. Our author errs, however, in stating the fall can be passed only at high tide, for it is then impassable ; the passing time is a little above half tide, when the waters are level and still. The mention of the portage overland to the St. Lawrence is correct, though the distance to Tadoussac is much underestimated. The iron-mine, as the map of 1612 makes clear, was on the east side of the mouth of the river, where traces of iron are abundant. The true latitude of the mouth of the river is 45° 16′.

[2] These islands are the bold rocky group called the Wolves. The *margos* were gannets, or solan geese (*cf.* p. 242 *supra*), but it does not seem possible that these were found on the Wolves, which are a wooded group, and those birds breed in bare isolated rocks like the Gannet Rock a little farther westward. On Champlain's map of 1607 the islands are called *Isles aux Perdrix*, but partridges do not occur on them. I suspect his *Margos* were Sea Pigeons (*Cepphus grylle* Linn.), which are "pied" birds and breed there abundantly.

prismes force petits, qui sont aussi bons que pigeonneaux. Le sieur de Poitrincourt s'y pensa esgarer : Mais en fin il reuint à nostre barque comme nous l'allions cerchant autour de [l']isle, qui est esloignee de la terre ferme trois lieues. Plus à l'ouest y a d'autres isles : entre autres vne contenant six lieues, qui s'appelle des sauuages Manthane,[1] au su de laquelle il y a entre les isles plusieurs ports bons pour les vaisseaux. Des isles aux Margos nous fusmes à vne riuiere en la grãde terre, qui s'appelle la riuiere des Estechemins,[2] nation de sauuages ainsi nommee en leur païs : & passames par si grande quantité d'isles, que n'en auons peu sçauoir le nombre, assez belles ; cõtenant les vnes deux lieues les autres trois, les autres plus ou moins. Toutes ces isles sont en vn

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which are as good to eat as young pigeons. The Sieur de Poutrincourt was nearly lost here, but finally returned to our long-boat as we went about searching for him round the island, which is distant three leagues from the mainland. Farther west are other islands, and amongst them one six leagues in length called by the Indians Manthane,[1] on the south side of which, among the islands, are several good ports for ships. From the Margos Islands we proceeded to a river on the mainland, called the river of the Etechemins,[2] from a tribe of Indians so named in their own country. We passed such a great number of islands, fair enough in appearance, that it was not possible to count them. Some were two leagues in circumference, others three, and others more or less. All these

[1] Now Grand Manan, the description of which is good so far as it goes. This spelling Manthane occurs only here; later in the narrative and on his maps our author uses Menane, to which moreover he expressly changed Manthane in 1632. That Menane is the correct form is attested by its origin; for it is derived from the Indian *Munaan-ook*, meaning "The Island" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, V, 1912, ii. 191).

[2] The river Ste. Croix (see p. 272). The name Etechemins applied by these Indians to themselves represents obviously a form of the word *skejim* still in use as the equivalent of Indian.

cu de sac, qui contient à mon iugement plus de quinze lieux de circuit : y ayant plusieurs endrois bons pour y mettre tel nombre de vaisseaux que l'on voudra, lesquels en leur saison sont abondans en poisson, comme mollues, saulmons, bars, harangs, flaitans, & autres poissons en grand nombre.[1] Faisant l'ouest norouest trois lieux par les isles, nous entrasmes [p. 32. dans vne riuiere qui a presque demye lieue de large en son entree, où ayans faict vne lieue ou deux, nous y trouuasmes deux isles : l'vne fort petite proche de la terre de l'ouest : & l'autre au milieu,[2] qui peut auoir huict ou neuf cens pas

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islands lie in a bay, in my opinion more than fifteen leagues in circumference, with several good harbours for the reception of as many vessels as one might wish, which harbours abound with fish in their season, such as cod, salmon, bass, herring, halibut, and others in great numbers.[1] Sailing west-north-west three leagues through the islands, we entered a river which is almost half a league wide at its mouth, wherein, after going a league or two, we found two islands—one very small and near the western shore, and the other in the middle of the river.[2] The

[1] This bay containing the islands is now called Passamaquoddy. The description is good.

[2] The river Ste. Croix, and Little Dochet and Dochet (pronounced Dō′-shay) islands. The large island, as Champlain informs us (page 272), is the one which Monts named isle Ste. Croix. Upon it the expedition established a permanent settlement and thus inaugurated the occupation of North America by the two races which have dominated its destiny. The physical geography and history of this island have been treated by the writer in a work, *Dochet (St. Croix) Island, A Monograph*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, VIII, 1902, ii. 127–220, with a supplement thereto in the same *Transactions*, XII, 1906, ii. 103–6, a work referred to in the following pages as the *Dochet Monograph*. The photographs were reproduced in *Acadiensis*, IV, 1904, 210 *et seq.* In June 1904, the three-hundredth anniversary of the discovery and settlement of the island was worthily celebrated under the auspices of the Maine and New Brunswick Historical Societies, and a full account was published by the Maine Historical Society under the title, *Tercentenary of De Monts' Settlement of St. Croix Island* (Portland, 1905).

de circuit, esleuee de tous costez de trois à quatre toises de rochers, fors vn petit endroict d'vne poincte de Sable & terre grasse, laquelle peut seruir à faire briques, & autres choses necessaires. Il y a vn autre lieu à couuert pour mettre des vaisseaux de quatre vingt à cent tonneaux : mais il asseche de basse mer. L'isle est remplie de sapins, boulleaux, esrables & chesnes. De soy elle est en fort bonne situation, & n'y a qu'vn costé où elle baisse d'enuiron 40. pas, qui est aisé à fortifier, les costes de la terre ferme en estans des deux costez esloignees de quelques neuf cens à mille pas. Il y a des vaisseaux qui ne pourroyent passer sur la riuiere qu'à la mercy du canon d'icelle.[1] Qui est le lieu que nous iugeâmes le meilleur : tant pour la situation, bon pays, que pour le communciation que nous pretendions auec les sauuages de

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latter may be eight or nine hundred paces in circumference, rising on all sides in ledges of from three to four fathoms, excepting at one small spot, where there is a point of sand and clay which could be utilised for making bricks and other needful articles. There is another sheltered spot where vessels of eighty to one hundred tons can lie, but it goes dry at low water. The island is covered with firs, birches, maples, and oaks. It is naturally very well situated, with but one place where it is low, for about forty paces, and that easy to fortify. The shores of the mainland are distant on both sides some nine hundred to a thousand paces, so that vessels could only pass along the river at the mercy of the cannon on the island.[1] This place we considered the best we had seen, both on account of its situation, the fine country, and for the intercourse we were expecting with the Indians of

[1] This description of the island is accurate, allowance being made for geographical changes discussed in the *Dochet Monograph* and briefly indicated in the discussion of the maps here following. A statement of Lescarbot (ii. 240) implies that the island had been discovered by Champlain while exploring, presumably in the small boat, ahead of the main expedition.

ces costes & du dedans des terres, estans au millieu d'eux : Lesquels auec le temps on esperoit pacifier, & amortir les guerres qu'ils ont les vns contre les autres, pour en tirer à l'aduenir du seruice : & les reduire à la foy Chrestiēne. Ce lieu est nommé par le sieur de Mons l'isle saincte Croix.[1] Passant plus outre on voit vne grande baye en laquelle y a deux isles : l'vne haute & l'autre platte : [2] & trois riuieres, deux mediocres, dont l'vne tire vers l'Orient & l'autre au nord : & la troisiesme grande, qui va vers l'Occident.[3] C'est p. 33.

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these coasts and of the interior, since we should be in their midst. In course of time we hoped to pacify them, and to put an end to the wars which they wage against one another, in order that in the future we might derive service from them, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by the Sieur de Monts the island of Ste. Croix.[1] Farther on one sees a great bay in which are two islands, one lofty and the other flat.[2] There are also three rivers, two of which are of moderate size—one leading towards the east and the other to the north, while the third is large and leads towards the west.[3] The latter is that of the Etechemins, which we

[1] This name has not persisted, except for the river, to which it was extended by Champlain himself. The name was suggested, according to Lescarbot (*Histoire*, ii. 242), by the three rivers, of which Champlain speaks in the next sentence, coming together in the form of a cross.

[2] The great bay is now called Oak Bay, and the islands are the lofty and rocky Cooksons (or Dunns) Island, and the low and sandy Little Island.

[3] The rivers are respectively the Waweig, Gallops Stream, emptying into the head of Oak Bay, and the main Ste. Croix.

celle des Etechemins, dequoy nous auons parle cy dessus. Allans dedans icelle deux lieux il y a vn sault d'eau,[1] où les sauuages portent leurs cannaux par terre quelque 500. pas, puis rentrent dedans icelle, d'où en aprés en trauersant vn peu de terre on va dans la riuiere de Norembegue[2] & de sainct Iean, en ce lieu du sault que les vaisseaux ne peuuent passer à cause que ce ne sont que rochers, & qu'il n'y a que quatre à cinq pieds d'eau. En May & Iuin il s'y prend si grande abondance de harangs[3] & bars que l'on y en pourroit charger des vaisseaux. Le terroir est des plus beaux, & y a quinze ou vingt arpens de terre deffrichee,[4] où le sieur de Mons fit semer du froment, qui y vint fort beau. Les sauuages s'y retirent quelquesfois cinq ou six sepmaines durant la pesche. Tout le reste du païs sont forests fort espoisses.

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have already mentioned. Two leagues up this river there is a waterfall,[1] where the Indians carry their canoes overland some five hundred paces; then they re-enter the river, whence by traversing a short portage they pass into the rivers of Norumbega[2] and St. John. Vessels cannot pass this waterfall, because it is nothing but rocks, with but four to five feet of water. In May and June, so great is the catch here of herring[3] and bass that vessels could be loaded with them. The soil is of the very best, and on fifteen or twenty arpents of cleared land here, the Sieur de Monts had some wheat sown, which throve extremely well.[4] The Indians resort thither sometimes five or six weeks during

[1] Undoubtedly the falls at Milltown, which in early times must have answered very accurately to this description. They are above the salt-water falls at St. Stephen which are buried at high tide.

[2] The portages into the Norumbega (*i.e.* the Penobscot) and the St. John are described in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, V, 1899, ii. 242, 245.

[3] The herring here meant is the river-herring, the alewife, or gaspereau (*Clupea vernalis* Mitchill): the true herring does not ascend rivers.

[4] The land was cleared by order of De Monts, as Champlain narrates at p. 302 *infra*.

Si les terres estoiēt deffrichees les grains y viēdroiēt fort biē. Ce lieu est par la hauteur de 45. degrez vn tiers de latitude, & 17. degrez 32. minuttes de declinaison de la guide-ayment.[1] [PLANCHE : ISLE DE SAINTE CROIX.] p. 34.

Le sieur de Mons ne trouuant point de lieu plus propre pour faire vne demeure arrestee que l'isle de S. Croix, la fortifie & y faict des logemens. Retour des vaisseaux en France, & de Ralleau Secretaire d'iceluy sieur de Mons, pour mettre ordre à quelques affaires. p. 35.

CHAP. IV.

N'AYANT trouué lieu plus propre que ceste Isle, nous commençames à faire vne barricade sur vn petit islet vn peu separé de l'Isle, qui seruoit de platte-forme pour mettre nostre canō.[2] Chacun s'y employa si

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the fishing season. All the rest of the country is very thick forests. If the land were cleared, the seeds would flourish very well. This place lies in latitude 45° 20′, and the magnetic variation is 17° 32′.[1] [PLATE LXX.]

CHAPTER IV

The Sieur de Monts, not finding any place more suitable for establishing a permanent settlement than the island of Ste. Croix, fortifies it and erects dwellings thereon. Return of the vessels to France, and of Ralleau, secretary of the said Sieur de Monts, in order to attend to certain matters of business.

HAVING found no place more suitable than this island, we began to erect a barricade on a small islet a little removed from it, and this served as a platform for mounting our cannon.[2] Each worked so efficiently that

[1] "This place" must of course refer to Ste. Croix island, the latitude of which is 45° 7′ 30″.

[2] This islet, recognisable upon Champlain's map, is the *Cannon Nubble* of the modern map. This Nubble is now much smaller, though still large

vertueusemēt qu'en peu de temps elle fut rēdue en defence, bien que les mousquittes (qui sont petites mouches) nous apportassent beaucoup d'incomodité au trauail: car il y eust plusieurs de nos gens qui eurent le visage si enflé par leur piqueure qu'ils ne pouuoient presque voir. La barricade estant acheuee, le sieur de Mons enuoya sa barque pour aduertir le reste de nos gens qui estoiēt auec nostre vaisseau en la baye saincte Marie, qu'ils vinssent à saincte Croix.[1] Ce qui fut promptement fait : Et en les attendant nous passames le temps assez ioyeusement.

Quelques iours aprés nos vaisseaux estans arriuez, & ayant mouillé l'ancre, vn chacun descendit à terre : puis sans perdre temps le sieur de Mons commança à employer les ouuriers à bastir des maisons pour nostre demeure, & me permit de faire l'ordōnāce de nostre logemēt. Aprez que le

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in a very short time it was put in a state of defence, though the mosquitoes (which are little flies) gave us great annoyance while at work, and several of our men had their faces so swollen by their bites that they could scarcely see. The barricade being finished, the Sieur de Monts sent his long-boat to tell the rest of our people, who were aboard our vessel in St. Mary's Bay, to come to Ste. Croix.[1] This was quickly carried out ; and while awaiting them, we passed our time pleasantly enough.

Several days afterwards, our vessels having arrived and anchored, everybody landed ; then, without loss of time, the Sieur de Monts proceeded to set the workmen to build houses for our residence, and allowed me to draw up the plan of our settlement. After the Sieur de Monts had chosen

enough to serve as a platform for cannon, and for the temporary fortification built by the boat party while awaiting the arrival of their vessels. Despite its aspect of continuity on Champlain's map, it was partially separated from the main island, as both his own and Lescarbot's descriptions prove.

[1] Nicolas Aubry, who had been lost on Digby Neck (*cf.* p. 253 *supra*), was rescued by this long-boat (Lescarbot, ii. 243).

sieur de Mons eut prins la place du Magazin qui cōtient neuf thoises de long, trois de large & douze pieds de haut, il print le plan de son logis, qu'il fit promptement bastir par de bons ouuriers, puis aprés dōna à chacun sa place : & aussi tost on cōmença à s'assembler cinq a cinq & six a six, selon que l'on desiroit. Alors tous se mirēt à deffricher l'isle, aller au bois, charpenter, porter de la terre & autres choses necessaires pour les bastimens.[1]

Cependant que nous bastissions nos logis le sieur de Mons depescha le Capitaine Fouques dans le vaisseau de Rossignol,[2] pour aller trouuer Pontgraué à Cāceau, afin d'auoir ce qui restoit des commoditez pour nostre habitation.

Quelque temps apres qu'il fut parti, il arriua vne petite barque du port de huict tonneaux, où estoit du Glas[3] de

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the site for the storehouse, which was fifty-four feet long, eighteen broad, and twelve feet high, he settled the plan for his own house, which he had built quickly by good workmen. Then he assigned a place to each one, and immediately they began to collect in fives and sixes, according to their preferences. After that all set to work to clear the island, to fetch wood, to cut timber, to carry earth, and other things necessary for the construction of the buildings.[1]

Whilst we were building our dwellings, the Sieur de Monts sent Captain Fouques in Rossignol's vessel[2] to go and find Pont-Gravé at Canso in order to obtain what was left of the supplies for our settlement.

Some time after his departure there arrived a little eight-ton long-boat, on board of which was Du Glas,[3] of Honfleur, the

[1] *Cf.* the plan on Plate LXXI, p. 278. Monts' residence was, Lescarbot informs us, built of timbers brought from France, and the same was true apparently of the storehouse: but all the other buildings were evidently log-huts.

[2] The vessel confiscated at Port Rossignol, as related at p. 237 *supra*. This vessel and their own constituted "the vessels" mentioned on p. 275.

[3] Guillaume Duglas had sailed these seas since 1579. See Bréard, *op. cit.*, 56, and *cf.* p. 467 *infra*, note 1.

Honfleur pilotte du vaisseau de Pontgraué, qui amena auec luy les Maistres des nauires Basques qui auoiēt esté prins par ledit Pont en faisant la traicte de peleterie, cōme nous auons dit. Le sieur de Mons les receut humainement & les renuoya par ledit du Glas au Pont auec commission de luy dire qu'il emmenast à la Rochelle les vaisseaux qu'il auoit prins, afin
p. 37. que iustice en fut faicte. Cependāt on trauailloit fort & ferme aux logemens : les charpentiers au magazin & logis du sieur de Mons, & tous les autres chacun au sien ; comme moy au mien, que ie fis auec l'aide de quelques seruiteurs que le sieur d'Oruille & moy auiōs ; qui fut incontinent acheué : où depuis le sieur de Mons se logea attendant que le sien le fut. L'on fit aussi vn four, & vn moulin à bras pour moudre nos bleds, qui donna beaucoup de peine & trauail à la pluspart, pour estre chose penible.[1] L'on fit aprés quelques iardinages,

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pilot of Pont-Gravé's ship, who brought with him the masters of the Basque vessels, who had been seized by the said Pont-Gravé whilst carrying on a barter in furs, as we have stated. The Sieur de Monts received them kindly, and sent them back by the said Du Glas to Pont-Gravé, with instructions to tell him to take the captured vessels to La Rochelle in order that the law might deal with them. Meanwhile work on the buildings went forward steadily and vigorously, the carpenters at the storehouse and dwelling of the Sieur de Monts, and all the others each at his own. I worked at mine, which I built with the aid of some servants of the Sieur d'Orville and myself. This was forthwith finished, and in it the Sieur de Monts then lodged until his own was ready. An oven was also built, and a hand-mill for grinding our wheat, which gave much trouble and labour to most of us, since it was a painful task.[1] Afterwards some gardens were made, both on the

[1] A water-mill was also built, the site of which is marked upon Champlain's map by the letter I, corresponding to Lowes Brook. Where the tidal estuary of this brook empties into the main river, it cuts through

tant à la grand terre que dedans l'isle, où on sema plusieurs sortes de graines, qui y vindrent fort bien, horsmis en l'isle ; d'autant que ce n'estoit que Sable qui brusloit tout, lors que le soleil donnoit, encore qu'on prist beaucoup de peine à les arrouser. [PLANCHE: HABITASION DE LILE STE. CROIX.] p. 38.

Quelques iours aprés le sieur de Mons se delibera de p. 39.
sçauoir où estoit le mine de cuiure franc qu'auions tant cherchee : Et pour cest effect m'enuoya auec vn sauuage appellé Messamoüet, qui disoit en sçauoir bien le lieu. Ie party dans vne petite barque du port de cinq à six tonneaux, & neuf matelots auec moy. A quelque huict lieues de l'isle, tirāt à la riuiere S. Iean, en trouuasmes vne de cuiure, qui n'estoit pas pur ; neantmoins bonne selon le rapport du mineur, lequel disoit que l'on en pourroit tirer 18. pour cent. Plus outre nous en trouuasmes d'autres moindres que ceste cy. Quand nous

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mainland and on the island itself, wherein many kinds of grain were sown which came up very well, except on the island where the soil was nothing but sand in which everything was scorched when the sun shone, although great pains were taken to water the plants. [PLATE LXXI.]

Several days later the Sieur de Monts decided to find out where the mine of pure copper lay for which we had made such diligent search. To this end he sent me with an Indian named Messamouet, who said he knew the site well. I set out in a small pinnace of five or six tons' burden, having with me nine sailors. Some eight leagues from the island, towards the river St. John, we found a mine of copper which was not pure ; nevertheless it was good, according to the miner's report, who said that it would yield eighteen per cent. Farther on we found others, inferior to this. When we

a remarkable high ledge, offering an admirable site for a dam ; but some hundred and fifty yards up the stream it cuts through another, smaller, cross ledge, which also offers an unusually fine site, and one which has been utilised for mills within the memory of residents. As it seems unlikely Monts used the tidal power, we may assume that this upper site was chosen.

fusmes au lieu où nous pretēdiōs que fut celle que nous cherchions le sauuage ne la peut trouuer : de sorte qu'il fallut nous en reuenir, laissant ceste recerche pour vne autre fois.[1]

Comme ie fus de retour de ce voyage, le sieur de Mons resolut de renuoyer ses vaissaux en France, & aussi le sieur de Poitrincourt qui n'y estoit venu que pour son plaisir, & pour recognoistre de païs & les lieux propres pour y habiter, selō le desir qu'il en auoit : c'est pourquoy il demāda au sieur de Mōs le port Royal, qu'il luy donna suiuant le pouuoir & commission qu'il auoit du Roy. Il renuoya aussi Ralleau

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reached the spot where we hoped was the mine we were seeking, the Indian could not find it, so that we had to return, leaving this search for another occasion.[1]

On my return from this voyage, the Sieur de Monts determined to send his ships back to France ; and also the Sieur de Poutrincourt, who had come out only for pleasure and to explore the country and the places suitable for a settlement which he desired to found. Wherefore he asked the Sieur de Monts for Port Royal, and the latter gave it to him in conformity with his power and commission from the King.

[1] The first mine, eight leagues east of Ste. Croix island, was probably at Beaver Harbour, where copper ores occur ; while the others were doubtless at Red Head harbour and vicinity, where traces of copper are fairly common.

When Champlain speaks of reaching the place where they supposed the mine to be, he is evidently referring to Chignecto Bay, in agreement with the supposition expressed at p. 264 *supra*. This bay is laid down on Plate LXXXI with as much detail and accuracy as is Minas Basin, which he first visited two years later. Moreover, on the Simancas map of 1610 (A. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, i. 456), a *Cap Ronde* ("Round Cape") is marked in the position of the striking rounded head called Owl's Head, near Alma, while his map of 1607 has here a *Cap Marchant* and a *R. Verte*. These names can be only a relic of such an expedition by Champlain. It was probably on this same voyage that he gave to Chignecto Bay the name *Baye de Gennes* which is on his map of 1612, but not mentioned in his works. Also on this same trip, I take it, he gave the name *Illes Jumelles* (The Twins) (figure 10 on Plate LXXXI) to the two islands in Maces Bay now called *The Brothers*, and *Les Basses* (Plate LXXX) to the reefs at the entrance to Little Dipper harbour.

son Secretaire pour mettre ordre à quelques affaires touchant le voyage; lesquels partirent de l'isle S. Croix le dernier iour p. 40.
d'Aoust audict an 1604.

De la coste, peuples et riuiere de Norembeque : & de tout ce qui c'est passé durant les descouuertures d'icelle.

CHAP. V.

APRES le partement des vaisseaux, le sieur de Mons se delibera d'enuoyer descouurir le long de la coste de Norembegue, pour ne perdre temps : & me commit ceste charge, que i'eus fort aggreable.

Et pour ce faire ie partis de S. Croix le 2. de Septembre auec vne pattache de 17. à 18. tonneaux, douze matelots, & deux sauuages pour nous seruir de guides aux lieux de leur cognoissance. Ce iour nous trouuasmes les vaisseaux où

He also sent back Ralleau, his secretary, to attend to certain matters connected with the voyage. They set out from Ste. Croix island on the last day of August in that same year 1604.

CHAPTER V

Of the coast, inhabitants, and river of Norumbega, and all that occurred during the exploration thereof.

AFTER the departure of the vessels, the Sieur de Monts decided, in order not to lose time, to send and explore along the coast of Norumbega, and entrusted to me this duty, which I found very agreeable.

For this purpose I set out from Ste. Croix on September 2 in a small vessel of seventeen to eighteen tons, with twelve sailors and two Indians to serve us as guides to the places with which they were acquainted. That day we met

estoit le sieur de Poitrincourt, qui estoient ancrés à l'amboucheure de la riuiere sainte Croix, à cause du mauuais temps, duquel lieu ne pusmes partir que le 5. dudict mois : & estans deux ou trois lieux vers l'eau la brume s'esleua si forte que nous perdimes aussi tost leurs vaisseaux de veue. Cōtinuāt nostre route le lōg des costes nous fismes ce iour là quelque 25. lieux : & passames par grāde quantité d'isles, bancs, battures & rochers qui iettent plus de quatre lieux à la mer par endroicts.[1] Nous auōs nommé les isles, les isles
p. 41. rangees,[2] la plus part desquelles sont couuertes de pins &

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with the vessels having on board the Sieur de Poutrincourt, which lay at anchor at the mouth of the river Ste. Croix on account of the bad weather. From this place we could not set out until the fifth of the said month, and when we were two or three leagues at sea the fog came up so thick that we immediately lost sight of their vessels. Continuing our course along the coast we made this day some twenty-five leagues, and passed a great number of islands, sand-banks, shoals, and rocks, which in some places project more than four leagues out to sea.[1] We named these islands the Ordered Islands.[2] The greater part of them are

[1] *East Coast of the United States Pilot*, 2nd ed. (London, 1909), p. 2: "The State of Maine has a coastline 200 miles in length from Quoddy head, its north-eastern extreme to its south-western boundary at Portsmouth. . . . For 160 miles of this distance it trends about W. by S. with a very broken outline, abounding in deep navigable fiord-like inlets, large bays, and many excellent harbours, with innumerable off-lying islands, islets and rocks."

[2] Champlain applied this name only to those islands lying to the east of his *isle aux Corneilles*, which was Great Wass island (*cf.* p. 312, note 3). Hence the Ordered Islands were those lying between Great Wass island and Machias Bay on the coast of Maine. The name did not persist, nor does the group bear any separate name at this day (*cf.* p. 463 *infra* for another group of Ordered Islands).

Upon either this voyage or a later one, names were given to other islands hereabouts. Thus the map of 1607 applies *Isle aux Perroquetz* (*I. Peree* on the 1610 map) to the present Machias Seal Islands, ten and a half miles from Grand Manan. These sea-parrots or puffins (*Fratercula arctica* Linn.)

sapins, & autres meschants bois. Parmy ces isles y a force beaux & bōs ports, mais mal-aggreables pour y demeurer. Ce mesme iour nous passames aussi proche d'vne isle qui contient enuiron 4. ou cinq lieux de lōg, auprés laquelle nous nous cuidames perdre sur vn petit rocher à fleur d'eau, qui fit vne ouuerture à nostre barque proche de la quille. De ceste isle iusques au nord de la terre ferme il n'y a pas cēt pas de large. Elle est fort haute couppee par endroicts, qui paroissēt, estāt en la mer, cōme sept ou huit montagnes rāgees les vnes proches des autres.[1] Le sōmet de la plus part d'icelles est

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covered with pines, firs, and other inferior woods. Among these islands are many ports which are attractive and safe, but unsuitable for settlement. That same day we also passed near an island about four or five leagues in length, off which we were almost lost on a little rock, level with the surface of the water, which made a hole in our pinnace close to the keel. The distance from this island to the mainland on the north is not a hundred paces. It is very high and cleft in places, giving it the appearance from the sea of seven or eight mountains one alongside the other.[1] The tops of most

still breed here. On his map of 1612 Champlain gives the name *La Herronière* to Scoodic Island, where local tradition has it that long ago the heron bred; but some four miles north-west of Scoodic Island lies Heron Island, a tiny islet, also a breeding place of those birds. As Champlain spent the night of the fifth–sixth of September somewhere in this vicinity, it would harmonise with all the circumstances of his narrative if that night were spent in the snug little harbour between this and the neighbouring islands.

A third name, *Isle de Sasinou*, appears on the map of 1632 (*Menanou* on the map of 1607), with the statement that it lies between isle des Monts-Deserts and les isles aux Corneilles. This was the prominent island of Petit Manan, doubtless named Sassinou for some connection with the important Indian chief mentioned several times in later pages of the narrative.

[1] *East Coast of the United States Pilot*, p. 86: "Mount Desert island is large, rugged, nearly circular, and about twelve miles in diameter. The island contains many lofty eminences"; and *ibid.*, p. 2: "Mount Desert island rises to a height of 1532 feet above the level of the sea."

desgarny d'arbres ; parce que ce ne sont que rochers. Les bois ne sont que pins, sapins & boulleaux. Ie l'ay nōmée l'isle des Monts-deserts.[1] La hauteur est par les 44. degrez & demy de latitude.

Le lendemain 6. du mois fismes deux lieux : & aperçeumes vne fumee dedans vne ance qui estoit au pied des montaignes cy dessus :[2] & vismes deux canaux cōduits par des sauuages, qui nous vindrent recognoistre à la portee du mousquet. I'enuoyé les deux nostres dans vn canau pour les asseurer de nostre amitié. La crainte qu'ils eurent de nous les fit

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of them are bare of trees, because there is nothing there but rocks. The woods consist only of pines, firs, and birches. I named it Mount Desert island.[1] Its latitude is 44° 30′.

The next day, the sixth of the month, we made two leagues, and caught sight of smoke in a cove which was at the foot of the mountains above-mentioned;[2] and we saw two canoes paddled by Indians, who came to observe us at a distance of a musket-shot. I sent our two Indians in a canoe to assure them of our friendship, but the fear they had of us

[1] This name does not mean "desert," but bare of trees, and is still in use with the accent upon the last syllable. This and Isle au Haut are the only names given by Champlain on the New England coast that have survived. Our author's description is accurate and vivid, as I can affirm from personal knowledge. The island is now one of the chief summer resorts of the New England coast. Its latitude is about 44° 22′. Cf. *Mount Desert, a History*, by George E. Street, edited by Samuel A. Eliot (Boston, 1905); and also the *National Geographic Magazine*, June 1916, which describes the new park, the Sieur de Monts National Monument.

[2] The narrative is not perfectly clear here, and we have probably another case of condensation for publication. The most consistent interpretation would seem to be that they arrived within two leagues of Mount Desert on the fifth of September, and spent the night either at Scoodic or at Heron Island, as noted on the preceding page; the next day they crossed the two leagues to Mount Desert, striking on the way upon the submerged rock, perhaps an outlier of Egg Rock; they then landed at the nearest beach on Mount Desert, where they spent the remainder of the day repairing their little vessel. Slafter identifies the cove as Otter Creek Cove, holding that no other answers the description (*op. cit.*, i. 209).

retourner. Le lendemain matin ils reuindrent au bort de nostre barque, & parlementerent auec nos sauuages. Ie leur fis p. 42. donner du biscuit, petum & quelques autres petites bagatelles. Ces sauueges estoient venus à la chasse des Castors & à la pesches du poisson, duquel ils nous donnerent. Ayant fait alliance auec eux, ils nous guiderent en leur riuiere de Peimtegoüet [1] ainsi d'eux appelee, où ils nous dirent qu'estoit leur Capitaine nommé Bessabez chef d'icelle.[2] Ie croy que ceste riuiere est celle que plusieurs pilottes & Historiens appellent Norembegue :[3] & que la plus part ont escript

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made them turn back. The next morning they returned, and came alongside our pinnace, and held converse with our Indians. I had some biscuit, tobacco, and sundry other trifles given to them. These Indians had come to hunt beaver, and to catch fish, some of which they gave us. Having made friends with them, they guided us into their river Peimtegouet,[1] as they call it, where they told us lived their chief named Bessabez, headman of that river.[2] I believe that this river is the one which several pilots and historians call Norumbega,[3] and which most of them have described as large

[1] This is the earliest known mention of this name, which later, in the form Pentagouet, became prominent in the French period of Maine history, though it has long been extinct. It was the Indian name, meaning "broader river," for the tidal part of the Penobscot, below the present city of Bangor (cf. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, VII, 1913, ii. 94).

[2] *Cf.* p. 293 *infra*, note 2.

[3] The origin of this name has not yet been determined. It occurred three-quarters of a century before Champlain's time, first as the designation of a wide extent of country, and later as the name of the most considerable river thereof. It is doubtful if the name was originally applied to any actual river, but appears to have had a purely cartographical existence upon the conventional and inaccurate maps of the pre-Champlain period. This cartographical river being found to coincide pretty closely with the Penobscot, the name became naturally transferred to this latter river. It seems useless therefore to try to find an Indian origin for the word. Its history is fully treated in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XI, 1917, ii. 107–11.

estre grande & spacieuse, auec quantité d'isles : & son entree par la hauteur de 43. & 43. & demy : & d'autres par les 44. degrez, plus ou moins de latitude. Pour la declinaison, ie n'en ay leu ny ouy parler à personne. On descrit aussi qu'il y a vne grande ville fort peuplée de sauuages adroits & habilles, ayans du fil de cotton. Ie m'asseure que la pluspart de ceux qui en font mentiō ne l'ont veue, & en parlēt pour l'auoir ouy dire à gens qui n'en sçauoyent pas plus qu'eux. Ie croy bien qu'il y en a qui ont peu en auoir veu l'emboucheure, à cause qu'en effet il y a quātité d'isles, & qu'elle est par la hauteur de 44. degrez de latitude en son entree, comme ils disent : Mais qu'aucun y ait iamais entré il n'y a point d'apparence : car ils l'eussent descripte d'vne autre façon, afin d'oster beau-
p. 43. coup de gens de ceste doute.

Ie diray donc au vray ce que i'en ay reconeu & veu depuis le commencement iusques ou i'ay esté.

Premierement en son entree il y a plusieurs isles esloignees

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and spacious, with a number of islands, and with its entrance in latitude 43°, or 43° 30′, though others give 44°, more or less. As to the magnetic variation, I have never read nor heard any mention of it. They also described how there is a great town thickly peopled with skilled and clever Indians who use cotton thread. I am convinced that the majority of those who mention it never saw it, and speak of it only by hearsay from people who had no more knowledge of it than themselves. I can well believe that some may have seen its mouth, because in fact there are numerous islands there, and the latitude thereof is 44°, as they state; but there is no evidence whatever that any one ever entered it; for they would have described it differently in order to remove the doubts of many people on this score.

I shall accordingly relate exactly what I discovered and observed from its mouth as far as I went.

In the first place, at the mouth of it are many islands

de la terre ferme 10. ou 12. lieues qui sont par la hauteur de 44. degrez de latitude, & 18. degrez and 40. minuttes de declinaison de la guide-aymāt.[1] L'isle des Mōts-deserts fait vne des pointes de l'emboucheure, tirant à l'est : & l'autre est vne terre basse appelee des sauuages Bedabedec,[2] qui est à l'ouest d'icelle, distātes l'vn de l'autre neuf ou dix lieues. Et presque au milieu à la mer y a vne autre isle fort haute & remarquable, laquelle pour ceste raison i'ay nommee l'isle haute.[3] Tout autour il y en a vn nombre infini de plusieurs

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distant ten or twelve leagues from the mainland, and in latitude 44° with 18° 40′ of magnetic variation.[1] The island of Mount Desert forms one of the points at its mouth, towards the east, while the other, on the west, is low land, called by the Indians Bedabedec,[2] the distance between them being nine or ten leagues. Almost midway between them, out to sea, lies another very high and striking island which for this reason I named Isle Haute.[3] Everywhere about it lie an infinite

[1] In 1910 the magnetic variation was 16° 50′.

[2] This name is obviously Indian, but its meaning is uncertain. After Champlain's map of 1632 it vanishes until 1755, when it reappears on the Green-Jefferys map applied to Owl's Head, at the western entrance to West Penobscot Bay. Jefferys took it direct from Champlain, and Ballard followed Jefferys (*Report of the United States Coast Survey for* 1868, 247).

Champlain applied the name to the coast, whence it was transferred to the Camden Hills, where it survives to-day in the form Mount Battux. Champlain, upon his map of 1612, places here the name *Coste de mommoransy*, evidently in honour of Charles de Montmorency, High Admiral of France, to whom he had dedicated his earlier book *Des Sauvages*. The map of 1632 restores Bedabedec. See p. 85 *supra* and Plate LXXXI.

[3] This island still bears the appropriate name given to it by Champlain, being some 556 feet above the sea, and rising conspicuously above all others in the vicinity. With Mount Desert it is the only survival in New England of the names that he gave. It is now commonly called Isle au Haut.

grandeurs & largeurs : mais la plus grande est celle des Monts-deserts.[1] La pesche du poisson de diuerses sortes y est fort bonne : comme aussi la chasse du gibier. A quelques deux ou trois lieues de la poincte de Bedabedec, rengeant la grande terre au nort, qui va dedans icelle riuiere, ce sont terres fort hautes qui paroissent à la mer en beau temps 12. à 15. lieues.[2] Venant au su de l'isle haute, en la rengeāt comme d'vn quart de lieue où il y a quelques battures qui sont hors
p. 44. de l'eau,[3] mettant le cap à l'ouest iusques à ce que l'on ouure

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number of islands of diverse lengths and breadths, but the largest of all is Mount Desert.[1]

The fishing for diverse sorts of fish is very good, as is also the hunting for waterfowl. Some two or three leagues from Bedabedec point, as one coasts the mainland towards the north leading into this river, are very lofty hills visible in fine weather from the sea twelve to fifteen leagues.[2] On reaching the south of Isle Haute, and ranging it about a quarter of a league, to some shoals that are above the water,[3] and then

[1] Cf. *East Coast of the United States Pilot*, p. 191 : " Penobscot bay, sub-divided into East and West Penobscot bays by the Fox islands, which include . . . a mass of surrounding islets and shoals lying in the centre of the entrance, is upwards of twenty miles wide between Isle au Haut on the east and Whitehead on the west, and recedes fully twenty-eight miles from that line to the mouth of the Penobscot river."

It will be noticed that Champlain does not distinguish Penobscot Bay from the river. It is also remarkable that amid his many maps Champlain does not include one of this Penobscot, or Norumbega, region which interested him so much. A substitute is however available in Champlain's map of 1607, Plate LXXX. (*cf.* also p. 288 *infra*).

[2] These are the Camden Hills, which rise abruptly to a height of 1380 feet, and accordingly must be visible far out to sea.

[3] These shoals are the ledges named Eastern Ear, Cape Ann, Roaring Bull, and Western Ear. Champlain shows them very clearly upon his maps, although with a different name upon each. Thus the map of 1612 has *illes iettees*, that is, " the scattered islands " ; the map of 1607 has *orsenes isles*, which appears upon the map of 1632 as *Horsaines*, meaning

toutes les montaignes qui sont au nort d'icelle isle, vous vous pouuez asseurer qu'en voyant les huict ou neuf decouppees de l'isle des Monts-deserts & celle de Bedabedec, l'on sera le trauers de la riuiere de Norembegue : & pour entrer dedans

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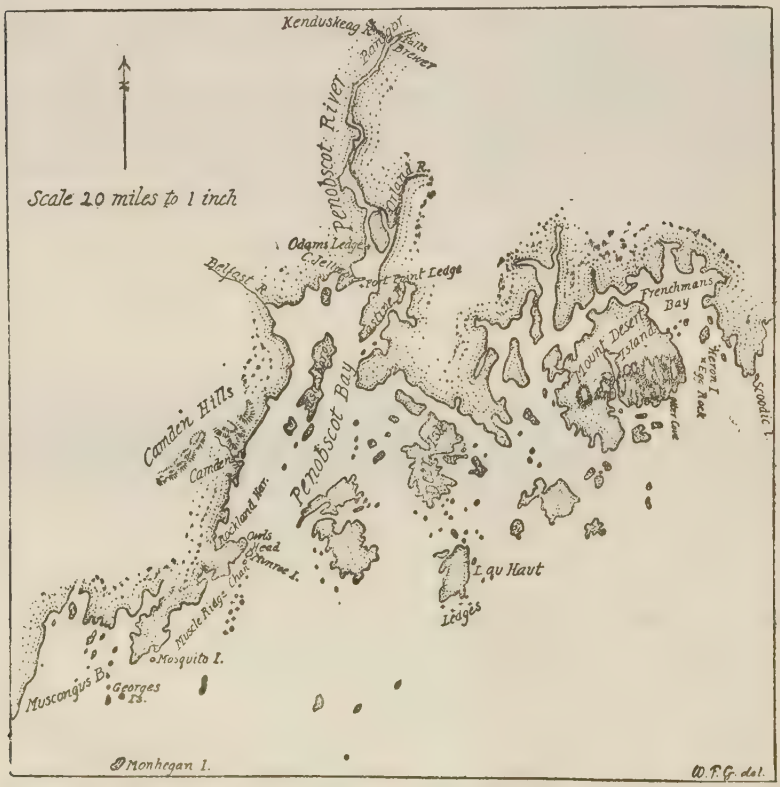
heading west until you open up all the mountains to the northward of this island, you can be sure, on catching sight of the eight or nine summits of the island of Mount Desert and the land of Bedabedec, that you are off Norumbega river. In

"foreign" or "outlying" islands; while the map of 1610, which extends them in a way to suggest some confusion with the Matinicus group farther



out to sea, has *Isles Basses*, that is, "low islands," in contrast to Isle Haute. On the modern map here given they are marked "Ledges."

il faut mettre le cap au nort, qui est sur les plus hautes montaignes dudict Bedabedec : & ne verrez aucunes isles deuant vous : & pouuez entrer seurement y ayant assez d'eau, bien que voyez quantité de brisans, isles & rochers à l'est & ouest de vous. Il faut les esuiter la sonde en la main pour plus grande seureté : Et croy à ce que i'en ay peu iuger, que l'on ne peut entrer dedans icelle riuiere par autre endroict, sinon auec des petits vaisseaux ou chalouppes :[1] Car comme i'ay dit cy dessus le quantité des isles, rochers, basses, bancs & brisans y sont de toutes parts en sorte que c'est chose estrange à voir.

Or pour reuenir à la continuation de nostre routte : Entrāt dans la riuiere il y a de belles isles, qui sont fort aggreables,

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order to enter this one must steer north, that is, towards the highest mountains of the said Bedabedec ; and you will then find no islands ahead of you and can enter safely with plenty of water, although you will see a number of breakers, islands, and rocks both to east and west of you. For greater safety it is necessary to avoid them with the lead in hand. And I am of opinion, so far as I have been able to judge, that one cannot enter that river at any other place except with small craft or shallops;[1] for as I have previously stated, the numerous islands, rocks, shoals, sand-banks, and breakers are here so scattered about as to form a remarkable sight.

Now to return to the continuation of our journey. Entering the river one sees fine islands, which are very pleasant on

[1] An error, since there are several good entrances, though one needs to know them. This statement would imply that Champlain's Indians had guided him to the main entrance of this river, but this is improbable since routes much shorter and safer exist among the islands. It is possible that his statement of the distance from Mount Desert to the mainland may mean that he was taken by that route, as would be natural in heavy south-easterly weather, though it is longer ; but in any case he seems to have visited Deer Island, for that is the only one with the fine meadows of which he speaks later. Our modern map gives little idea of the profusion of islands and reefs here, though the modern charts afford some conception thereof.

auec de belles prairies.[1] Nous fusmes iusques à vn lieu où les sauuages nous guiderent, qui n'a pas plus de demy quart de lieue de large : Et à quelques deux cens pas de la terre de l'ouest y a vn rocher à fleur d'eau, qui est dangereux.[2] De là à l'isle haute y a quinze lieues. Et depuis ce lieu estroict, p. 45. (qui est la moindre largeur que nous eussions trouuee), apres auoir faict quelque 7. ou 8. lieues, nous rencontrasmes vne petite riuiere,[3] où auprés il fallut mouiller l'ancre : d'autant que deuant nous y vismes quantité de rochers qui descouurent de basse mer : & aussi que quand eussions voullu passer plus

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account of their beautiful meadows.[1] We went as far as a place to which the Indians guided us, where the river is not over an eighth of a league in width; and here, some two hundred paces from the west shore and level with the surface of the water, is a rock which is dangerous.[2] Thence to isle Haute it is fifteen leagues. After making some seven or eight leagues from this narrows (which is the narrowest spot we found), we came to a little river[3] in the vicinity of which we had to anchor, for the reason that before us we saw a great many rocks which are exposed at low tide, and moreover, had we

[1] To one travelling among these islands by steamer to-day, these meadows are by no means conspicuous, and this passage has puzzled more than one searcher (*cf.* J. W. Porter, in the *Bangor Historical Magazine*, ii. 1887, 229). The United States Geological Survey Map of Penobscot Bay shows that these islands possess only insignificant areas of marsh (the usual "meadows" of Champlain), with one exception, and that is Deer Isle, to the east of East Penobscot Bay, which contains a good many. To this island, accordingly, Champlain must refer. It is clear therefore that he passed that way into the Penobscot.

[2] This narrow place has been taken by Slafter (*op. cit.*, ii. 43) and others to be Cape Jellison; but a spot some four miles farther up the river, at Odoms Ledge, a sunken rock, answers much better to Champlain's description. Moreover, both the width of the river here and the distance of the ledge from the western shore, as well as the relative distances from Isle Haute and from Bangor, correspond closer to Champlain's figures than does Cape Jellison.

[3] The Kenduskeag, which enters the Penobscot at Bangor.

auant nous n'eussions pas peu faire demye lieue : à cause d'vn sault d'eau qu'il y a, qui vient en talus de quelque 7. à 8. pieds,[1] que ie vis allant dedans vn canau auec les sauuages que nous auions : & n'y trouuasmes de l'eau que pour vn canau : Mais passé le sault, qui a quelques deux cens pas de large, la riuiere est belle, & continue iusques au lieu où nous auions mouillé l'ancre. Ie mis pied à terre pour veoir le païs : & allāt à la chasse ie le trouué fort plaisant & aggreable en ce que i'y fis de chemin. Il semble que les chesnes qui y sont ayent esté plantez par plaisir. I'y vis peu de sapins, mais bien quelques pins à vn costé de la riuiere : Tous chesnes à l'autre : & quelques bois taillis qui s'estendent fort auant dans les terres.[2] Et diray que depuis l'entree où

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wished to go on, we could not have proceeded more than half a league on account of a waterfall which descends a slope of some seven to eight feet.[1] This I saw when I went there in a canoe with the Indians we had with us, where we found only enough water for a canoe. But below the fall, which is some two hundred paces in width, the river is beautiful; and is unobstructed as far as the place where we had anchored. I landed to see the country; and going hunting, found the part I visited most pleasant and agreeable. One would think the oaks there had been planted designedly. I saw few firs, but on one side of the river were some pines, while on the other were all oaks, together with underwood which extends far inland.[2] And I shall add that from the mouth of the

[1] Treats Falls. In the identification of the localities here mentioned I have had the advantage of the help of Mrs. Fannie H. Eckstorm, of Brewer, whose knowledge of Penobscot history is most thorough. The rockiness of the stream-bed between the Kenduskeag and the Falls was exaggerated by Champlain, even allowing for the removal since his day of a good many rocks. Although ledges and rocks do appear in plenty, a small vessel could pick her way through them up to the falls.

[2] Oaks covered the present site of Bangor, as testify tradition, the recollection of the older residents, and existent specimens, while Oak Street and Grove Street perpetuate their memory in the modern city. It is

nous fusmes, qui sont enuiron 25. lieux, nous ne vismes aucune ville ny village, ny apparence d'y en auoir eu : mais bien vne ou deux cabannes de sauuages où il n'y auoit personne, les- p. 46.
quelles estoient faites de mesme façon que celles des Souriquois couuertes d'escorce d'arbres : Et à ce qu'auons peu iuger il y a peu de sauuages en icelle riuiere qu'on appele aussi Etechemins. Ils n'y viennent non plus qu'aux isles, que quelques mois en esté durant la pesche du poisson & chasse du gibier, qui y est en quantité. Ce sont gens qui n'ont point de retraicte arrestee à ce que i'ay recogneu & apris d'eux : car ils yuernent tantost en vn lieu & tantost à vn autre, où ils voient que la chasse des bestes est meilleure ; dont ils

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river to the spot where we were, a distance of some twenty-five leagues, we saw neither town nor village, nor any traces that there ever had been any, but only one or two empty Indian wigwams which were constructed in the same manner as those of the Souriquois, that is, covered with tree-bark. So far as we could judge there are few Indians on this river, and these also are called Etechemins. They come there and to the islands only for a few months in summer during the fishing and hunting season, when game is plentiful. They are a people with no fixed abode, from what I have discovered and learned from themselves ; for they pass the winter sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, wheresoever they perceive the hunting of wild animals is the best. Upon these they live when hunger presses, without putting

known also that a great grove of pines occupied the eastern bank of the river where now stands the town of Brewer. These facts have been stated with much local detail by Mrs. Eckstorm, in an article on *Champlain's Visit to the Penobscot*, in *Sprague's Journal of Maine History*, i. 1913, 56–65. This visit has also been discussed by J. E. Godfrey, in the *Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Bangor*, 1870, 20–1 ; by J. W. Porter in the *Bangor Historical Magazine*, ii. 1887, 229 ; and by J. M. Brown in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, vii. 1876, 343. *Cf.* also Governor Pennell in *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.*, v. 1857, 381.

viuent quand la necessité les presse, sans mettre rien en reserue pour subuenir aux disettes qui sont grandes quelquesfois.

Or il faut de necessité que ceste riuiere soit celle de Norembegue : car passé icelle iusques au 41. degré que nous auons costoyé, il n'y en a point d'autre sur les hauteurs cy dessus dictes, que celle de Quinibequy,[1] qui est presque en mesme hauteur, mais non de grande estendue. D'autre part il ne peut y en auoir qui entrent auant dans les terres : d'autant que la grande riuiere saint Laurens costoye icelle coste d'Accadie & Norembegue,[a] où il n'y a pas plus de l'vne à l'autre par terre de 45. lieues, ou 60. au plus large, comme il se pourra veoir par ma carte Geographique.

. 47. Or ie laisseray ce discours pour retourner aux sauuages qui m'auoient conduit aux saults de la riuiere de Norembegue, lesquels furent aduertir Bessabez[2] leur chef, & d'autres sau-

[a] D'autres exemplaires portent : *la coste d'Accadie & de Norembegue.*

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anything aside for their support during the famines, which sometimes are severe.

Now this river must of necessity be that of Norumbega ; for, after it, there is no other in the above-mentioned latitudes as far as 41°, to which we went, except the Kennebec, which is nearly in the same latitude, but of no great size.[1] Moreover, there can be none here which extend far inland, because the great river St. Lawrence runs parallel to the coast of Acadia and of Norumbega, and the distance between them by land is not above forty-five leagues, or sixty at the widest part, as may be seen on my map.

I shall now leave this subject in order to return to the Indians, who had conducted me to the falls of Norumbega river, and who had gone to inform Bessabez[2] their chief, and

[1] On the Kennebec, see p. 319, note 1.

[2] This chief was in his day a man of mark. Not only is he mentioned several times by our author (pp. 284, 295, 442, and 445), but his name, variously spelled, occurs in the writings of practically all the early authors concerned with this region. *Cf.* J. E. Godfrey in the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, vii. 1876, 93. The early English writers thought

uages, qui allerent en vne autre petite riuiere aduertir aussi le leur, nommé Cabahis, & luy donner aduis de nostre arriuee.

Le 16. du mois il vint à nous quelque trente sauuages, sur l'asseurance que leur donnerent ceux qui nous auoient seruy de guide. Vint aussi ledict Bessabez nous trouuer ce mesme iour auec six canaux. Aussi tost que les sauuages qui estoient à terre le virent arriuer, ils se mirēt tous à chāter, dancer & sauter, iusques à ce qu'il eut mis pied à terre : puis aprés s'assirent tous en rond contre terre, suiuant leur coustume lors qu'ils veulēt faire quelque harāgue ou festin. Cabahis l'autre chef peu aprés arriua aussi auec vingt ou trēte de ses cōpagnōs, qui se retirēt apart, & se reiouirēt fort de nous veoir : d'autāt que c'estoit la premiere fois qu'ils auoient veu des Chrestiens. Quelque temps aprés ie fus à terre auec deux de mes compagnons & deux de nos sauuages, qui nous ser-

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other Indians. They [in their turn] went to another little river to inform also their chief, whose name was Cabahis, and to notify him of our arrival.

On the sixteenth of the month, some thirty Indians came to us upon the assurance given to them by those who had acted as our guides. On the same day the above-mentioned Bessabez also came to see us with six canoes. As soon as the Indians on shore saw him arrive, they all began to sing, dance, and leap, until he had landed, after which they all seated themselves on the ground in a circle, according to their custom when they wish to make a speech or hold a festival. Cabahis, the other chief, also arrived a little later, with twenty or thirty of his companions, who kept by themselves; and they were much pleased to see us, inasmuch as it was the first time they had ever beheld Christians. Some time afterwards I landed with two of my companions and two of our Indians

Bessabez a title, but Champlain and also Biard, both of whom knew him personally, use it as a personal name. Father Biard calls him the Sagamore of Kadusquit, *i.e.* Kenduskeag.

uoient de truchemēt : & donné charge à ceux de nostre barque d'approcher prés des sauuages, & tenir leurs armes prestes
48. pour faire leur deuoir s'ils aperçeuoient quelque esmotion de ces peuples contre nous. Bessabez nous voyant à terre nous fit asseoir, & commença à petuner auec ses compagnons, comme ils font ordinairement auparauant que faire leurs discours. Ils nous firent present de venaison & de gibier.

Ie dy à nostre truchement, qu'il dist à nos sauuages qu'ils fissent entendre à Bessabez, Cabahis & à leurs compagnons, que le sieur de Mons m'auoit enuoyé par deuers eux pour les voir & leur pays aussi : & qu'il vouloit les tenir en amitié, & les mettre d'accord auec les Souriquois & Canadiens leurs ennemis : Et d'auantage qu'il desiroit habiter leur terre, & leur mōtrer à la cultiuer, afin qu'ils ne trainassent plus vne vie si miserable qu'ils faisoient, & quelques autres propos à ce subiet. Ce que nos sauuages leur firent entendre, dont ils

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who acted as our interpreters. I ordered the crew of our pinnace to draw near the Indians, and to hold their weapons in readiness to do their duty in case they perceived any movement of these people against us. Bessabez, seeing us on shore, bade us sit down, and began with his companions to smoke, as they usually do before beginning their speeches. They made us a present of venison and waterfowl.

I directed our interpreter to tell our Indians that they were to make Bessabez, Cabahis, and their companions understand that the Sieur de Monts had sent me to them to see them, and also their country; that he wished to remain friends with them, and reconcile them with their enemies, the Souriquois and Canadians; moreover, that he desired to settle in their country and show them how to cultivate it, in order that they might no longer lead so miserable an existence as they were doing; and several other remarks on the same subject. This our Indians made them understand, whereat

demonstrerent estre fort contens, disant qu'il ne leur pouuoit arriuer plus grand bien que d'auoir nostre amitié : & desiroyent que l'on habitast leur terre, & viure en paix auec leur ennemis : afin qu'a l'aduenir ils allassent à la chasse aux Castors plus qu'ils n'auoient iamais faict, pour nous en faire part, en les accōmodant de choses necessaires pour leur vsage. Apres qu'il eut acheué sa harangue, ie leur fis present de haches, patinostres, bonnets, cousteaux & autres petites ioliuetés : p. 49. aprez nous nous separasmes les vns des autres. Tout le reste de ce iour, & la nuict suiuante, ils ne firent que dancer, chāter & faire bonne chere, attendans le iour auquel nous trectasmes quelque nōbre de Castors : & aprez chacun s'en retourna, Bessabez auec ses compagnons de son costé, & nous du nostre, fort satisfaits d'auoir eu cognoissance de ces peuples.[1]

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they signified that they were well satisfied, declaring that no greater benefit could come to them than to have our friendship; and that they desired us to settle in their country, and wished to live in peace with their enemies, in order that in future they might hunt the beaver more than they had ever done, and barter these beaver with us in exchange for things necessary for their usage. When he had finished his speech, I made them presents of hatchets, rosaries, caps, knives, and other little knick-knacks; then we separated. The rest of this day and the following night they did nothing but dance, sing, and make merry, awaiting the dawn, when we bartered a certain number of beaver-skins. Afterwards each returned, Bessabez with his companions in their direction and we in ours, well pleased to make acquaintance with these people.[1]

[1] The value to the French of the tactful and sagacious manner in which Champlain conducted this first conference with these Indians cannot be overestimated; for there can be no question that here began that friendship which remained unbroken until the end of French rule in Acadia.

The precise site of this conference is nowhere stated, but there can be little doubt that Mrs. Eckstorm is correct in placing it on the tongue of land between the Kenduskeag and the Penobscot, near the site of an

Le 17. du mois ie prins la hauteur, & trouuay 45. degrez & 25. minuttes de latitude :[1] Ce faict nous partismes pour aller à vne autre riuiere appelee Quinibequy,[2] distãte de ce lieu de trente cinq lieux, & prés de 20. de Bedabedec.[3] Ceste nation de sauuages de Quinibequy s'appelle Etechemins, aussi bien que ceux de Norembegue.

Le 18. du mois nous passames prés d'vne petite riuiere où estoit Cabahis, qui vint auec nous dedans nostre barque quelque douze lieues :[4] Et luy ayant demandé d'où venoit la riuiere de Norembegue, il me dit qu'elle passé le sault dont i'ay faict cy dessus mention, & que faisant quelque chemin en icelle on entroit dãs vn lac par où ils võt à la riuiere de S.

On the seventeenth of the month I made an observation, and found the latitude to be 45° 25′.[1] This done, we set out for another river called Kennebec,[2] distant from this place thirty-five leagues, and from Bedabedec about twenty.[3] The tribe of Indians at Kennebec is called Etechemins, like those of Norumbega.

On the eighteenth of the month we passed near a little river where lived Cabahis, who accompanied us in our pinnace some twelve leagues.[4] Having asked him about the source of Norumbega river, he informed me that after passing the fall of which I have made mention above, and travelling some distance up the river, one entered a lake through which they

important Indian village known to have stood beside the Kenduskeag (*op. cit.*, 61). Another less likely site is the old camp ground on the Brimmer Flats, in Brewer, opposite the mouth of the Kenduskeag (*cf.* Godfrey, *op. cit.*, 80, 81).

[1] The real latitude of the mouth of the Kenduskeag is 44° 46′, and that of the Penobscot 44° 25′

[2] See p. 319 *infra*, note 1.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 286-7.

[4] This river, on which Cabahis dwelt, was apparently either the Orland or the Belfast, both of which appear upon Champlain's map of 1607, and both of which he must have passed in coming out of the Penobscot. He probably saw Castine Harbour on his way up the Penobscot, for it is marked on the same map.

Croix,[1] d'où ils vont quelque peu par terre, puis entrent dans la riuiere des Etechemins. Plus au lac descent vne autre riuiere par où ils vont quelques iours, en aprés entrent en vn p. 50. autre lac, & passent par le millieu ; puis estans paruenus au bout, ils font encore quelque chemin par terre, aprés entrent dans vne autre petite riuiere qui vient se descharger à vne lieue de Quebec, qui est sur le grand fleuue S. Laurēs.[2] Tous ces peuples de Norembegue sont fort basannez, habillez de peaux de castors & autres fourrures, cōme les sauuages Cannadiens & Souriquois : & ont mesme façon de viure.

Le 20. du mois rangeasmes la coste de l'ouest, & passames les montaignes de Bedabedec, où nous mouillasmes

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go to the river of Ste. Croix,[1] thence they go a short distance overland, and then enter the river of the Etechemins. Furthermore, into this lake falls another river, up which they travel several days, and afterwards enter another lake and pass through the midst of it ; then, having reached the end of it, they travel again some distance overland and afterwards enter another little river that empties a league from Quebec, which is on the great river St. Lawrence.[2] All these peoples of Norumbega are very swarthy, and are clothed in beaver-skins and other furs like the Canadian Indians and the Souriquois ; and they have the same manner of life.

On the twentieth of the month, we coasted along the western shore and passed the mountains of Bedabedec, where we

[1] There were two portage routes between the Penobscot and the Ste. Croix, one via the Mattawamkeag to the head of the east branch of the Ste. Croix, and the other by way of the Passadumkeag and the west branch of the Ste. Croix (cf. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, V, 1899, ii. 244 ; and XII, 1906, ii. 89). Champlain's maps of 1607 and 1612 show conclusively that he had the latter in mind. He is, however, mistaken in stating that the main Penobscot flows through that lake, and this error is the more remarkable because his map is correct. See Plates LXXX-LXXXI.

[2] From the head of the Penobscot, which passes through the large Chesuncook Lake, there was a portage to the head of the Chaudière river, which empties near Quebec, as Champlain states.

l'ancre:[1] Et le mesme iour recogneusmes l'entree de la riuiere, où il peut aborder de grands vaisseaux: mais dedãs il y a quelques battures qu'il faut esuiter la sonde en la main. Nos sauuages nous quitterent, d'autãt qu'ils ne vollurent venir a Quinibequy: parceque les sauuages du lieu leur sont grands ennemis. Nous fismes quelque 8. lieux rangeant la coste de l'ouest iusques à vne isle distante de Quinibequy 10. lieux, où fusmes cõtraincts de relascher pour le mauuais temps & vent contraire.[2] En vne partye du chemin que nous fismes nous passames par vne quantité d'isles & brissans qui iettent à la mer quelques lieues fort dãgereux.[3] Et voyãt que le mauuais
p. 51. temps nous contrarioit si fort, nous ne passames pas plus outre que trois ou 4. lieues.[4] Toutes ces isles & terres sont

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anchored.[1] The same day we explored the entrance of the river into which large vessels can come; but inside are several shoals which must be avoided lead in hand. Our Indians left us here, because they were unwilling to come to Kennebec, inasmuch as the Indians of that place are their great enemies. We made some eight leagues to the westward along the coast, as far as an island distant ten leagues from Kennebec, where we were obliged to put into harbour on account of the bad weather and head winds.[2] In one portion of our route we passed a number of very dangerous islands and breakers which project several leagues out to sea.[3] And seeing that the bad weather was so very unfavourable to us, we did not go more than three or four leagues farther.[4] All these islands and

[1] Probably in Rockland Harbour, shown on Champlain's map of 1607. The shoals are prominent on the modern charts. See Plate LXXX.

[2] The distances would imply that this island was Mosquito Island, but the maps of 1607 and 1612 mark an island in this position, to the westward of which is a long line of islands that can be no other than the Georges Islands. *Cf.* map on p. 288.

[3] These were obviously the remarkable line forming the eastern side of Muscle Ridge Channel, also shown on the maps of 1607 and 1612. The name *Isles perdües* (Sunken Islands) of the map of 1607 was apparently given to the cluster of reefs at the southern end of Isleboro.

[4] The remaining four leagues would take them well across Muscongus Bay, which is likewise on the map of 1612 under the name *Baye St. luct*, which does not reappear. See Plate LXXXI.

rēplies de quantité de pareil bois que i'ay dit cy dessus aux autres costes. Et considerant le peu de viures que nous auions, nous resolusmes de retourner à nostre habitation, attendans l'annee suiuante où nous esperions y reuenir pour recognoistre plus amplement. Nous y rabroussames donc chemin le 23. Septembre & arriuasmes en nostre habitation le 2. Octobre ensuiuant.

Voila au vray tout ce que i'ay remarqué tant des costes, peuples que riuiere de Norembegue, & ne sont les merueilles qu'aucuns en ont escrites. Ie croy que ce lieu est aussi mal aggre[a]ble en yuer que celuy de nostre habitation, dont nous fusmes bien desceus.

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shores are covered with quantities of the same trees mentioned before as occurring on the other coasts. In consideration of the scantiness of our provisions, we decided to return to our settlement and to wait until the following year, when we hoped to come back and explore more fully. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of September we turned back, and on the second of October following arrived at our settlement.

Such is a true statement of everything I observed both in regard to the coasts and peoples, as also to the river of Norumbega ; but they are not the wonders described by some. I believe this region is as disagreeable in winter as is that of our settlement, in regard to which we were greatly deceived.

Du mal de terre, fort cruelle maladie. A quoy les hommes & femmes sauuages passent le temps durant l'yuer. Et tout ce qui ce passa en l'habitation pendant l'yuernement.

CHAP. VI.

COMME nous arriuasmes à l'isle S. Croix chacun acheuoit de se loger. L'yuer nous surprit plustost que n'esperions, & nous empescha de faire beaucoup de choses que nous nous estiōs proposees. Neātmoins le
p. 52. sieur de Mōs ne laissa de faire faire des iardinages dans l'isle. Beaucoup commancerent à deffricher chacun le sien ; & moy aussi le mien, qui estoit assez grand, où ie semay quantité de graines, comme firent aussi ceux qui en auoient, qui vindrent assez bien. Mais comme l'isle n'estoit que Sable tout y brusloit presque lors que le soleil y donnoit : & n'auions

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CHAPTER VI

Of the scurvy, a very grievous malady: the occupations of the Indian men and women in winter-time; and all that happened in the settlement during the winter.

WHEN we arrived at Ste. Croix island, the dwellings had been completed. Winter came upon us sooner than we expected and prevented us from doing many things we had intended. Nevertheless, the Sieur de Monts did not fail for all that to have gardens made upon the island. Many commenced to clear the ground, each doing his own : and I also did mine, which was fairly big ; and in it I sowed a quantity of seeds, as did the others who had any. These came up pretty well, but as the island was nothing but sand, everything was almost burnt when the sun shone ; for we

point d'eau pour les arrouser, sinō de celle de pluye, qui n'estoit pas souuent.[1]

Le sieur de Mons fit aussi deffricher à la grāde terre pour y faire des iardinages, & aux saults il fit labourer à trois lieues de nostre habitation, & y fit semer du bled qui y vint tresbeau & à maturité.[2] Autour de nostre habitation il y a de basse mer quantité de coquillages, comme coques, moulles, ourcins & bregaux, qui faisoyent grand bien à chacun.[3]

Les neges commencerent le 6. du mois d'Octobre. Le 3. de Decembre nous vismes passer des glasses qui venoyent de quelque riuiere qui estoit gellee. Les froidures furent aspres

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had no water with which to water them excepting from rain, and this did not fall often.[1]

The Sieur de Monts also had clearings made on the mainland, in order to form gardens there; and at the falls, three leagues from our settlement, he had the soil dug up and wheat sown, which came up very fine and ripened.[2] About our settlement at low tide are plenty of shellfish, such as clams, mussels, sea-urchins, and sea-snails, which proved of great benefit to everybody.[3]

Snow first fell on the sixth of October. On the third of December we saw ice passing, which came from some frozen river. The cold was severe and more extreme than in

[1] The surveyor Wright (cf. *Dochet Monograph*) called it "a sandy hungry soil." Geologically the island consists only of glacial sands and clays resting upon granite ledges. Yet to-day gardens thrive well on this soil, especially north and east of the lighthouse. The summer of 1604 must have been exceptionally dry, just as the winter of 1604–5 was exceptionally severe.

[2] The gardens at the falls were very likely at the lower, or salt-water falls, in the sheltered cove at St. Stephen, where the soil is good. Here the earliest English settlers took up their residence.

[3] The second list of Acadian shellfish (*cf.* p. 249 *supra*). Lescarbot also speaks of them.

& plus excessiues qu'en France, & beaucoup plus de duree : & n'y pleust presque point cest yuer. Ie croy que cela prouient des vents du nord & norouest, qui passent par dessus de hautes mõtaignes qui sont tousiours couuertes de neges, que nous eusmes de trois à quatre pieds de haut, iusques à la fin
p. 53. du mois d'Auril ; & aussi qu'elle se concerue beaucoup plus qu'elle ne feroit si le païs estoit labouré.

Durant l'yuer il se mit vne certaine maladie entre plusieurs de nos gens, appelée mal de la terre, autrement Scurbut, à ce que i'ay ouy dire depuis à des hommes doctes.[1] Il s'engendroit en la bouche de ceux qui l'auoient de gros morceaux de chair superflue & baueuse (qui causoit vne grande putrefaction) laquelle surmontoit tellement, qu'ils ne pouuoient presque prendre aucune chose, sinon que bien liquide. Les

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France, and lasted much longer ; and it hardly rained at all that winter. I believe this is caused by the north and northwest winds, which pass over high mountains continually covered with snow. This we had to a depth of three or four feet up to the end of the month of April ; and I believe also that it lasts much longer than it would if the land were under cultivation.

During the winter a certain malady attacked many of our people. It is called land-sickness, otherwise scurvy, according to what I have since heard stated by learned men.[1] There was engendered in the mouths of those who had it large pieces of superfluous fungus flesh (which caused a great putrefaction) ; and this increased to such a degree that they could scarcely take anything except in very liquid form. Their teeth barely

[1] Lescarbot (*Histoire*, ii. 257-71) published an elaborate analysis of this disease, which he identified with the scurvy. It was the particular affliction of expeditions to distant parts, especially the polar regions, until very lately, though science has it now under control. This expedition also suffered from its ravages during the two following winters, though in far less degree. Cf. *The Cures of the Diseased*, 20-4 (London, 1598 : reprinted Oxford, 1915).

dents ne leur tenoient presque point, & les pouuoit on arracher auec les doits sans leur faire douleur. L'on leur coupoit souuent la superfluité de cette chair, qui leur faisoit ietter force sang par la bouche. Apres il leur prenoit vne grande douleur de bras & de iambes, lesquelles leur demeurerent grosses & fort dures, toutes tachetes cõme de morsures de puces, & ne peuuoient marcher à cause de la contraction des nerfs : de sorte qu'ils demeuroient presque sans force, & sentoient des douleurs intolerables. Ils auoient aussi douleur de reins, d'estomach & de ventre ; vne thoux fort mauuaise, & courte haleine : bref ils estoient en tel estat, que la pluspart des malades ne pouuoient se leuer ny remuer, & mesme ne les pouuoit on tenir debout, qu'ils ne tombassent en syncope : de p. 54. façon que de 79. que nous estions, il en mourent[a] 35. & plus de 20. qui en furẽt bien prés : La plus part de ceux qui resterent sains, se plaignoient de quelques petites douleurs & courte haleine. Nous ne pusmes trouuer aucun remede pour

[a] Il faudrait probablement lire, *moureut*.

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held in their places, and could be drawn out with the fingers without causing pain. This superfluous flesh was often cut away, which caused them to lose much blood from the mouth. Afterwards, they were taken with great pains in the arms and legs, which became swollen and very hard and covered with spots like flea-bites ; and they could not walk on account of the contraction of the nerves ; consequently they had almost no strength, and suffered intolerable pains. They had also pains in the loins, stomach, and bowels, together with a very bad cough and shortness of breath. In brief, they were in such a state that the majority of the sick could neither get up nor move, nor could they even be held upright without fainting away ; so that of seventy-nine of us, thirty-five died, and more than twenty were very near it. The majority of those who kept well complained of some minor pains and shortness of breath. We could find no remedy with which

la curation de ces maladies.[1] L'on en fit ouuerture de plusieurs pour recognoistre la cause de leur maladie.

L'on trouua à beaucoup les parties interieures gastees, comme le poulmon, qui estoit tellement alteré, qu'il ne s'y pouuoit recognoistre aucune humeur radicalle : la ratte cereuse & enflee : le foye fort legueux[a] & t'achetté, n'ayant sa couleur naturelle : la vaine caue, ascendante & descendāte remplye de gros sang agulé & noir : le fiel gasté : Toutesfois il se trouua quantité d'arteres, tant dans le ventre moyen qu'inferieur, d'assez bonne disposition. L'on dōna à quelques vns des coups de rasoüer dessus les cuisses à l'endroit des taches pourprees qu'ils auoiēt, d'où il sortoit vn sang caille fort noir. C'est ce que l'on a peu recognoistre aux corps infectes de ceste maladie.

[a] Ligneux ? fibreux.

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to cure these maladies.[1] We opened several of them to determine the cause of their illness.

In many cases it was found that the interior parts were diseased ; for example the lungs were so altered that no natural moisture could be seen ; the spleen was watery and swollen ; the liver very fibrous and mottled, with none of its natural colour ; the *vena cava*, both ascending and descending, full of thick, clotted and black blood ; the gall tainted. Nevertheless many arteries, both in the mid and lower bowels, were in pretty good condition. In some cases incisions were made with a razor upon the thighs over the purple spots, whence there flowed a black clotted blood. This is what could be learned from the bodies infected with this disease.

[1] *Cf.* Biard's Relation of 1616 (*Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites' ed., iii. 52) : " Of all Sieur de Monts' people who wintered first at Ste. Croix, only eleven remained well. These were a jolly company of hunters, who preferred rabbit hunting to the air of the fireside ; skating on the ponds, to turning over lazily in bed ; making snowballs to bring down the game, to sitting around the fire talking about Paris and its good cooks."

Nos chirurgiens ne peurent si bien faire pour eux mesmes qu'ils n'y soient demeurez comme les autres. Ceux qui y resterent malades furent gueris au printemps ; lequel commence en ces pays là est[a] en May. Cela nous fit croire que p. 55.
le changement de saison leur rendit plustost la santé que les remedes qu'on leur auoit ordonnés.

Durant cet yuer nos boissons gelerent toutes, horsmis le vin d'Espagne. On donnoit le cidre à la liure. La cause de ceste parte fut qu'il n'y auoit point de caues au magazin : & que l'air qui entroit par des fentes y estoit plus aspre que celuy de dehors. Nous estions cōtraints d'vser de tresmauuaises eaux, & boire de la nege fondue, pour n'auoir n'y fontaines n'y ruisseaux : car il n'estoit pas possible d'aller en la grand terre, à cause des grādes glaces que le flus & reflus charioit, qui est de trois brasses de basse & haute mer.[1] Le trauail du moulin à bras estoit fort penible : d'autant que la plus part estans

[a] Ce mot est sans doute à supprimer.

Our surgeons were unable to treat themselves so as not to suffer the same fate as the others. Those who continued to be ill grew well in the spring, which in this country begins in May. This made us believe that the change of season restored them to health rather than the remedies which had been prescribed for them.

During this winter our beverages all froze except the Spanish wine. Cider was given out by the pound. This loss was due to the fact that the storehouse had no cellar, and that the air which entered through the cracks was more severe than that outside. We were obliged to make use of very bad water and to drink melted snow, since we had neither springs nor brooks ; for it was not possible to go to the mainland on account of the great cakes of ice carried by the ebb and flow of the tide, which rises three fathoms between low and high water.[1] The labour with the hand-mill was very painful, because most of us,

[1] According to the *Sailing Directions* springs here rise twenty-five and neaps twenty-one and a half feet.

mal couchez, auec l'incommodité du chauffage que nous ne pouuions auoir à cause des glaces, n'auoient quasi point de force, & aussi qu'on ne mangeoit que chair salee & legumes durant l'yuer, qui engendrent de mauuais sang : ce qui à mon opinion causoit en partie ces facheuses maladies. Tout cela donna du mescontentement au sieur de Mons & autres de l'habitation.

Il estoit mal-aisé de recognoistre ce pays sans y auoir
p. 56. yuerné, car y arriuant en eté tout y est fort aggreable, à cause des bois, beaux pays & bonnes pescheries de poisson de plusieurs sortes que nous y trouuasmes. Il y a six mois d'yuer en ce pays.[1]

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having poor quarters and suffering from shortage of fuel which we could not procure on account of the ice, had almost no strength ; and, again, we ate only salt meat and vegetables during the winter, which produced poor blood. Such in my opinion was in part the cause of these unfortunate maladies. All these circumstances made the Sieur de Monts and others dissatisfied with the settlement.

It was difficult to know this country without having wintered there ; for on arriving in summer everything is very pleasant on account of the woods, the beautiful landscapes, and the fine fishing for the many kinds of fish we found there. There are six months of winter in that country.[1]

[1] Champlain thought the severity of the winter was characteristic of this particular locality, whereas we know that the winters here vary greatly, and that the one he experienced must have been of quite exceptional severity. Had it happened to be as mild as the next one passed at Port Royal, the history of this region might have been different.

Defence against the Indians was, of course, a chief factor in the choice of an island site, but man always likes a home with definite boundaries. The situation of this island in the midst of a charming region, its solitary and individualistic appearance, and the clean, healthful impression of its white-sand beaches, must have made it seem just the place for their settlement. They discovered it, apparently, upon one of the rare June days which make that region one of the most beautiful in the world.

Les sauuages qui y habitent sont en petite quātité. Durant l'yuer au fort de neges ils vont chasser aux eslans & autres bestes : de quoy ils viuent la pluspart du temps. Et si les neges ne sont grandes ils ne font guerres bien leur proffit : d'autant qu'ils ne peuuent rien prendre qu'auec vn grandissime trauail, qui est cause qu'ils endurent & patissent fort. Lors qu'ils ne vont à la chasse ils viuent d'vn coquillage qui s'appelle coque.[1] Ils se vestent l'yuer de bonnes fourrures de castors & d'eslans. Les femmes font tous les habits, mais non pas si propremēt qu'on ne leur voye la chair au dessous des aisselles, pour n'auoir pas l'industrie de les mieux accommoder. Quand ils vont à la chasse ils prennent de certaines raquettes, deux fois aussi grandes que celles de pardeça, qu'ils s'attachent soubs les pieds, & vont ainsi sur la neige sans enfoncer, aussi bien les femmes & enfans, que les hommes, lesquels cherchent la piste des animaux ; puis l'ayant trouuee

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The Indians who live there are few in number. During the winter, when the snow is deepest, they go hunting for moose and other animals, on which they live the greater part of the time. If the snow is not deep, they are scarcely rewarded for their pains, inasmuch as they cannot capture anything except with very great labour, whereby they endure and suffer much. When they do not go hunting, they live on a shellfish called the clam.[1] In winter they clothe themselves with good furs of beaver and moose. The women make all the clothes, but not neatly enough to prevent one seeing the skin under the armpits ; for they have not the skill to make them fit better. When they go hunting they make use of certain racquets, twice as large as those of our country, which they attach under their feet, and with these they travel over the snow without sinking, both the women and children as well as the men who hunt for the tracks of animals. Having

[1] A fact attested by the shell-heaps at their camp grounds. *Cf.* Matthew's work in *Bulletin Nat. Hist. Soc. of New Brunswick*, No. iii. 1884, 6.

ils la suiuent iusques à ce qu'ils apercoiuent la beste : & lors ils tirent dessus auec leur arcs, ou la tuent au coups d'espees
p. 57. emmanchees au bout d'vne demye pique, ce qui se fait fort aisement ; d'autant que ces animaux ne peuuent aller sur les neges sans enfoncer dedans : Et lors les femmes & enfans y viennent, & là Cabannent & se donnent curee : Apres ils retournent voir s'ils en trouueront d'autres, & passent ainsi l'yuer.[1] Au mois de Mars ensuiuant il vint quelques sauuages qui nous firent part de leur chasse en leur donnant du pain & autres choses en eschange. Voila la façon de viure en yuer de ces gens là, qui me semble estre bien miserable.

Nous attendions nos vaisseaux à la fin d'Auril lequel estant passé chacun commença à auoir mauuaise opinion, craignant qu'il ne leur fust arriué quelque fortune, qui fut occasion que

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found these they follow them until they catch sight of the beast, when they shoot at him with their bows, or else kill him with thrusts from swords set in the end of a half-pike. This can be done very easily, because these animals are unable to travel on the snow without sinking in. Then the women and children come up and camp there, and give themselves up to feasting. Afterwards they go back to see whether they can find other animals, and thus they pass the winter.[1] In the month of March following, there arrived some Indians, who shared with us their game, for which we gave them in exchange bread and other articles. Such is the manner of life of these people in winter, and it seems to me very wretched.

We were expecting our vessels at the end of April, and after that date everybody began to have forebodings, fearing lest some accident had befallen them. For this reason, on

[1] This is the earliest account we possess of the customs of the Indians in this part of Acadia ; for while Lescarbot's book was published before Champlain's, we cannot doubt that Champlain's narrative was written at the time of his explorations. Champlain's account of the Indians is accurate, as other testimony proves, and offers an excellent example of his power to perceive and express matters of real importance though of commonplace interest (*cf.* Lescarbot, ii. 247).

le 15. de May le sieur de Mons delibera de faire accommoder vne barque du port de 15. tonneaux, & vn autre de 7. afin de nous en aller à la fin du mois de Iuin à Gaspé,[1] chercher des vaisseaux pour retourner en France, si cependant les nostres ne venoient : mais Dieu nous assista mieux que nous n'esperions : car le 15. de Iuin ensuiuant estans en garde enuiron sur les onze heures du soir, le Pont Capitaine de l'vn des vaisseaux du sieur de Mons arriua dans vne chalouppe, lequel nous dit que son nauire estoit ancré à six lieux de nostre p. 58. habitations, & fut le bien venu au contentement d'vn chacun.[2]

Le lēdemain le vaisseau arriua, & vint mouiller l'ancre proche de nostre habitatiō. Le Pont nous fit entendre qu'il venoit aprés luy vn vaisseau de S. Maslo, appelé le S. Estienne, pour nous apporter des viures & commoditez.

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the fifteenth of May the Sieur de Monts decided to have a pinnace of fifteen tons' burden, and another of seven, fitted out so that at the end of June we might go to Gaspé[1] to search for vessels in which to return to France, should our own meantime not arrive. But God helped us better than we hoped; for on the fifteenth of June, whilst I was on guard about eleven o'clock at night, there arrived in a shallop Pont-Gravé, captain of one of the Sieur de Monts' vessels, who informed us that his ship was at anchor six leagues from our settlement. He was welcomed to the joy of all.[2]

The next day the vessel arrived, and came to anchor near our settlement. Pont-Gravé informed us that another vessel, the *St. Estienne* of St. Malo, was following him with provisions and supplies for our use.

[1] One wonders at first whether Gaspé is not a slip for Canso, but he repeats the word at the end of the chapter.

[2] Lescarbot says of this arrival of Pont-Gravé: "You may imagine the great joy of all, how the cannons roared a welcome, according to custom, how the trumpets sounded" (*Histoire*, ii. 280).

Le 17. du mois le sieur de Mons ce delibera d'aller chercher vn lieu plus propre pour habiter & de meilleure temperature que la nostre : Pour cest effect il fit équiper la barque dedans laquelle il auoit pensé aller à Gaspé.

Descovvertures de la coste des Almovchiquois iusques au 42. degré de latitude : & des particularités de ce voyage.

CHAP. VII.

LE 18. du mois de Iuin 1605. le sieur de Mons partit de l'isle saincte Croix auec quelques gentilshommes, vingt matelots & vn sauuage nommé Panounias[1] & sa femme, qu'il ne voulut laisser, que menasmes auec nous pour nous guider au pays des Almouchiquois, en esperance de recog-

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On the seventeenth of the month the Sieur de Monts decided to go in search of a more suitable site for a settlement, and one where the climate was milder than where we were. For this purpose he had fitted out the pinnace in which he had purposed going to Gaspé.

CHAPTER VII

Exploration of the coast of the Almouchiquois as far as the 42nd degree of latitude : and the particulars of this voyage.

ON the eighteenth of June, 1605, the Sieur de Monts set out from Ste. Croix island, accompanied by some gentlemen, twenty sailors, and an Indian named Panounias,[1] with his wife, whom the Indian was unwilling to leave behind. We took along these Indians to

[1] Lescarbot (ii. 368) calls him Panoniac. He figures again in Champlain's narrative in a less fortunate rôle; for he was slain the next year by the Almouchiquois (*cf.* pp. 443, 451, and 457 *infra*).

noistre & entendre plus particuliarement par leur moyen ce qui en estoit de ce pays : d'autant qu'elle en estoit natiue.

Et rangeant la coste entre Menane,[1] qui est vne isle à trois p. 59. lieues de la grãde terre, nous vinsmes aux isles rangees [2] par le dehors, où mouillasmes l'ancre en l'vne d'icelles, où il y auoit vne grãde multitude de corneilles, dõt nos gens prindrẽt en quantité ; & l'auons nommee l'isle aux corneilles.[3] De là fusmes à l'isle des Mõts deserts qui est à l'entree de la riuiere de Norembegue, comme i'ay dit cy dessus,[4] & fismes cinq ou six lieues parmy plusieurs isles, où il vint à nous trois sauuages dans un canon [a] de la poincte de Bedabedec [5] où estoit

[a] Sic pro *canau*, ou *canot*.

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serve as guides in the country of the Almouchiquois, in the hope of discovering and learning more exactly by their aid what kind of a country it was, inasmuch as she was a native thereof.

Coasting along inside Manan,[1] which is an island three leagues from the mainland, we reached the Ordered Islands [2] on the seaward side, and came to anchor at one of them. On this was a great multitude of crows, whereof our crew took a great number; and we named it the Isle of Crows.[3] Thence we sailed to Mount Desert island, which lies at the mouth of the Norumbega river, as stated above.[4] We made our way five or six leagues among some islands, and there three Indians came to us in a canoe from Bedabedec point,[5] where was their chief.

[1] *Cf.* p. 269.

[2] *Cf.* chap. iv. p. 281.

[3] Upon the maps of 1607 and 1612 the name appears as *C. de Corneilles*, or *Cap Corneille*, the cape presumably being the outer headland of the island. On these maps the name is attached to the island projecting farthest seaward, and the largest, at the western end of the Isles Rangées. These conditions all point to Great Wass island, which, moreover, has upon its eastern side an excellent harbour for small craft. The statement that Monts on this expedition erected a cross on Cross Island and made a map of it appears to rest upon no good basis (*Bangor Historical Magazine*, vi. 1891, 75). See Plates LXXX-LXXXI.

[4] Chap. v. p. 286.

[5] *Cf.* p. 286 *supra*.

leur Capitaine ; & aprés leur auoir tenu quelques discours ils s'en retournerent le mesme iour.

Le vendredy premier de Iuillet nous partismes d'vne des isles qui est à l'amboucheure de la riuiere, où il y a vn port assez bon pour des vaisseaux de cent & cent cinquante tonneaux. Ce iour fismes quelque 25. lieues entre la pointe de Bedabedec & quātité d'isles & rochers, que nous recogneusmes iusques à la riuiere de Quinibequy,[1] où à l'ouuert d'icelle il y a vne isle assez haute, qu'auons nommée la tortue,[2] & entre icelle & la grand terre quelques rochers esparts, qui couurent de pleine mer :[3] neantmoins on ne laisse de voir briser la mer par dessus. L'Isle de la tortue & la riuiere sont su surest & nort

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After some conversation they went back again the same day.

On Friday the first of July we set out from one of these islands which lies at the mouth of the river, where there is a pretty good harbour for vessels of one hundred and one hundred and fifty tons. That day we made some twenty-five leagues from Bedabedec point, past a number of islands and rocks which we explored as far as the Kennebec river.[1] At the mouth of this is a rather lofty island, named by us the Tortoise,[2] and between it and the mainland are some scattered rocks which are covered at high tide.[3] Nevertheless one can observe the sea breaking over them. Tortoise Island and the

[1] *Cf.* pp. 297 and 299 *supra.* The narrative seems to imply that they passed the night near Bedabedec point, in which case the island at the mouth of the river would be Munroe Island, which apparently has a good harbour behind it. His estimate of twenty-five leagues hence to Kennebec is much greater than that given on his first voyage.

[2] Seguin Island, rising about 145 feet above the sea. From the east it does resemble a tortoise, whence evidently its name from the Indian, *che-quen-ocks*, allied to *Siguenoc*, pp. 326 and 358.

[3] These rocks, called Ellingwood Rock, Seguin Ledges, and White Ledge, are indicated by crosses on the inset map, p. 315.

norouest. Cõme l'on y entre, il y a deux moyenes isles, qui font l'entree, l'vne d'vn costé & l'autre de l'autre, & à quelques p. 60.
300. pas au dedans il y a deux rochers où il n'y a point de bois, mais quelque peu d'herbes.[1] Nous mouillasmes l'ancre à 300. pas de l'entree, à cinq & six brasses d'eau.[2] Estans en ce lieu nous fusmes surprins de brumes qui nous firent resoudre d'entrer dedant pour voir le haut de la riuiere & les sauuages qui y habitent ; & partismes pour cet effect le 5. du mois. Ayans fait quelques lieues nostre barque pença se perdre sur vn rocher que nous frayames [a] en passant. Plus outre rencontrasmes deux canaux qui estoiẽt venus à la chasse aux oiseaux, qui la pluspart muent en ce temps, & ne peuuent voler. Nous accostames ces sauuages par le moyen du nostre, qui les fut trouuer auec sa femme, qui leur fit entendre

[a] Frôlâmes, froissâmes.

[Kennebec] river lie south-south-east and north-north-west. On entering the river there are two moderate-sized islands which form the entrance, one on one side and the other on the other ; and some three hundred paces farther in lie two rocks on which are no trees but only a little grass.[1] We anchored three hundred paces from the entrance in five to six fathoms of water.[2] Whilst lying here we were overtaken by fogs, which made us decide to go farther up in order to see the upper reaches of the river and the Indians who live there ; and for this purpose we set off on the fifth of the month. Having gone some leagues our pinnace was almost lost upon a rock which we grazed as we passed. Farther on we met with two canoes which had come to hunt birds, the majority of which are moulting at this time and cannot fly. We accosted these Indians through our own, who went towards them with his wife, and she explained to them

[1] The two islands, very clearly shown on Champlain's map, are obviously Pond Island and Stage Island, while the two rocks, here well characterised, are the North and South Sugar Loaf. Cf. Plate LXXII, p. 321.

[2] The position of the anchorage is well shown on Champlain's map.

le subiect de nostre venue. Nous fismes amitié auec eux & les sauuages d'icelle riuiere, qui nous seruirent de guide :[1] Et allant plus auant pour veoir leur Capitaine appelé Manthoumermer, comme nous eusmes fait 7. à 8. lieuex, nous passames par quelques isles, destroits & ruisseaux, qui s'espandent le long de la riuiere, où vismes de belles prairies :

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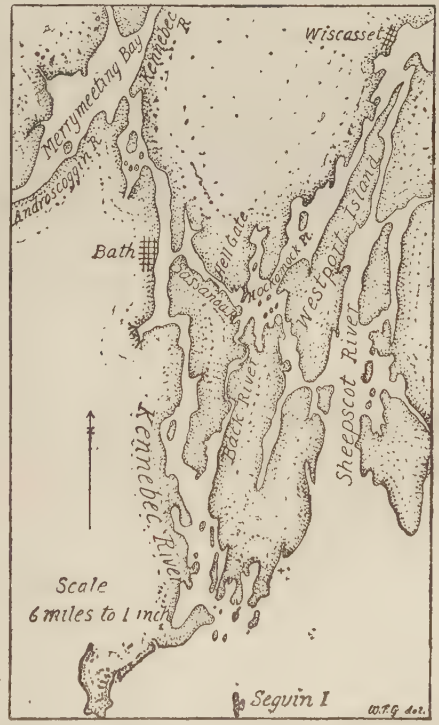
the reason of our coming. We made friends with them and with the Indians of that river who acted as our guides.[1] And proceeding farther in order to see their chief, named Manthoumermer, when we had covered seven to eight leagues, we passed some islands, straits and streams which are spread along the course of the river, where we saw some fine meadows.

[1] The context shows (as Laverdière and Slafter have pointed out), that Champlain did not take the main channel, but chose the Back River, which, because of its strong tidal currents, is narrow, shoal, crooked, and dangerous. To us with our charts, the choice seems incomprehensible, but to one sailing up the Kennebec for the first time, the topographical conditions are such that the Back River channel seems to be the continuation of the lower river, while the deep main channel, swinging to the west, turns in among hills in a way to suggest a deep cove or cul-de-sac such as occurs lower down the river. Father Biard in 1611 apparently ascended by the same route; for his graphic account of the dangers of the passage could apply to no other channel (*Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites' ed., iii. 221). The place where they met the Indians was doubtless in Hockomock Bay, with which the Back River connects. It is a place wholly favourable for an abundance of waterfowl.



& costoyant vne isle [1] qui a quelque quatre lieux de long ils nous menerent où estoit leur chef, auec 25. ou 30. sauuages, lequel aussitost que nous eusmes mouillé l'ancre vint à nous p. 61. dedans vn canau vn peu separé de dix autres, où estoient ceux qui l'accompaignoient : Aprochant prés de nostre barque, il fit vne harangue, où il faisoit entendre l'aise qu'il auoit de nous veoir, & qu'il desiroit auoir nostre alliance, & faire paix auec leurs ennemis par nostre moyen, disant que le lendemain il enuoyeroit à deux autres Capitaines sauuages qui estoient dedans les terres, l'vn appelé Marchim, & l'autre Sazinou, chef de la riuiere de Quinibequy. Le sieur de Mons leur fit donner des gallettes & des poix, dont ils furent fort contens. Le lendemain ils nous guiderent en dessendant la riuiere par vn autre chemin que n'estions venus,[2] pour aller à vn lac :

Coasting an island [1] some four leagues in length, they took us to the place where their chief then was in company with twenty-five or thirty Indians. As soon as we had anchored he came out to us in a canoe, separated a short distance from ten others in which were those who accompanied him. Drawing near our pinnace he made us a speech, in which he expressed his pleasure at seeing us, and said he desired an alliance with us, and through our mediation to make peace with their enemies. He added that the next day he would send word to two other Indian chiefs who were up country, one called Marchin, and the other Sasinou, chief of the Kennebec river. The Sieur de Monts had biscuits and peas given them, wherewith they were much pleased. The next day they guided us down the river by a different route than that by which we had come up,[2] in order to reach a lake. Making our way

[1] Westport, or Jeremisquam Island in Sheepscot River, as both Laverdière and Slafter have pointed out. The conference with the Indians undoubtedly took place at or near the present Wiscasset.

[2] Champlain's words clearly refer to the Kennebec, and not to the Sheepscot; the "lake" being Merrymeeting Bay. Since in their visit to Wiscasset they were guided both up and back by Indians, it is wholly improbable that they would have taken the much longer route around the

& passant par des isles, ils laisserēt chacun vne fleche proche d'vn cap par où tous les sauuages passent,[1] & croyent que s'ils ne le faisoyent il leur arriueroit du malheur, à ce que leur persuade le Diable;[2] & viuent en ces superstitions, comme ils font en beaucoup d'autres. Par de là ce cap nous passames vn sault d'eau fort estroit, mais ce ne fut pas sans grande difficulté, car bien qu'eussions le vent bon & frais, & que le fissions porter dans nos voilles le plus qu'il nous fut possible, si ne le peusme nous passer de la façon, & fusmes contraints d'attacher

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through some islands, each left an arrow near a cape before which all the Indians pass.[1] They believe that unless they do this, misfortune will befall them, for so the devil persuades them.[2] Such superstitions and likewise many others do they practise. Beyond this cape we passed a very narrow waterfall, but not without a great deal of trouble, for although we had a fresh, favourable wind, of which we made our sails reap as much benefit as we possibly could, yet we were not able to pass it in that manner and were obliged to attach a

foot of Westport Island, of which, moreover, Champlain's maps show no trace. No Indian village site is known at Wiscasset, but Mr. W. D. Patterson of that place informs me that Indian relics have been found upon an island on the eastern side of Wiscasset Bay, and that the Indians resorted there within recent times. He adds that an Indian burial ground has been found upon another island near by.

[1] Undoubtedly Hockomock Point, an abrupt, rocky, pine-crowned bluff, the highest in the vicinity and a conspicuous object. Just west of it lies a grass-covered flat ledge, on which, very likely, the votive arrows were placed.

[2] The custom of propitiating by a gift the guardian spirit of a dangerous place (in this case the dangerous tidal rapids) was apparently common among the American Indians. Champlain mentions an analogous case on the Ottawa river (Voyage of 1613, chap. v.); the Jesuit Relations record another instance (*Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites' ed., lviii. 293, note 3); Denys tells of a striking case at the mouth of the river St. John (*Description*, i. 42) which appears to be the original of the instance in Lafitau (*Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, i. 149); and the custom has even persisted into our own day, as Campbell Hardy relates (*Forest Life in Acadie*, 94).

à terre vne haussiere à des arbres, & y tirer tous : ainsi p. 62.
nous fismes tant à force de bras auec l'aide du vent qui nous fauorisoit que le passames.[1] Les sauuages qui estoient auec nous porterent leurs canaux par terre ne les pouuant passer à la rame. Apres auoir franchi ce sault nous vismes de belles prairies.[2] Ie m'estonnay si fort de ce sault, que descendant auec la maree nous l'auions fort bonne, & estans au sault nous la trouuasmes contraire, & aprés l'auoir passé elle descendoit comme auparauant, qui nous donna grand contentement.[3] Poursuiuant nostre routte nous vinsmes au lac,[4]

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hawser to some trees on shore and all to pull thereat. Thus we pulled so hard, in addition to the help of the wind which was favourable, that we passed it.[1] The Indians who were with us portaged their canoes, being unable to pass it with the paddle. After clearing this fall, we saw some fine meadows.[2] I was greatly astonished at this fall, since whilst we were descending, we found the tide in our favour, but at the fall itself, found it against us ; but having passed the fall, the tide was running out as before, which gave us great satisfaction.[3] Continuing our route we came to the lake,[4]

[1] Obviously the tidal fall or rapid at Upper Hell Gate on the Sassanoa river, which, as our map (p. 315) shows, lies in the direct route from Wiscasset to Merrymeeting Bay. Here the very strong tides pour through a narrow constriction in a rocky channel with a force which even yet at times causes a fall, although the place has been much improved for purposes of navigation. Small steamers now use it daily, and the tourist may view in security and comfort the difficulties which Champlain found so great. On the north side the bank rises steeply, but on the south it is much lower and more level, and here without doubt ran the Indian portage.

[2] The fine meadows now take the form of salt marshes fringing the shores west of the fall.

[3] Champlain's account seems to show that he came down from Wiscasset on the falling tide, and reached this place nearly at low water. The tide then turned while he was surmounting the fall and passing the remainder of the Sassanoa river, after which the flood-tide helped him up to Merrymeeting Bay. Slafter's explanation (*op. cit.*, ii. 59) is somewhat different.

[4] Merrymeeting Bay, into which fall the Kennebec and the Androscoggin. Champlain shows it very clearly on his maps.

qui a trois à quatre lieues de long, où il y a quelques isles, & y descent deux riuieres, celle de Quinibequy [1] qui vient du nort nordest, & l'autre du norouest, par où deuoient venir Marchim & Sasinou, qu'ayant attendu tout ce iour & voyāt qu'ils ne venoiēt point, nous resolusmes d'employer le temps : Nous leuasmes donc l'ancre, & vint auec nous deux sauuages de ce lac pour nous guider, & ce iour vinsmes mouiller l'ancre à

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which is three to four leagues in length. It contains several islands, and into it fall two rivers, the Kennebec,[1] which flows from the north-north-east, and another from the north-west, down which Marchin and Sasinou were to come. Having waited for them all that day, and seeing they did not arrive, we determined to improve our time. We therefore raised anchor and with our two Indians as guides left this

[1] This name, which persists to our day, is, of course, of Indian origin, but its meaning has been variously interpreted: as "which leads to the lake," by Abbé Maurault (*Histoire des Abenakis*, p. iv) : as "long water," by Vetromile (*The Abenakis and their History*, 24) : as "large lake" or "deep river," by Laurent (*Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues*, 213); while others have derived it from the name of a village upon its banks, or of a prominent chief who once lived there. The most probable explanation is given by J. Hammond Trumbull in his scholarly study of Indian Place-names (*Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, ii. 1870, 15), who derives it from the Abenaki roots *kóoné*, meaning "long," *be*, an abbreviation of *nebi*, meaning "water," and *ki*, meaning "region," thus the "long water region." Trumbull notes a certain disagreement between this form and Father Rasle's *Aghenibékki*, but considers Champlain's *Quinibequi* and Father Biard's *Kinibequi* as making his derivation highly probable. The peculiar applicability of the name to this river is very evident; for the deep tidal part extends not only all the way from the sea to Merrymeeting Bay, but even up the main river to Augusta before any rapids occur, a distance far greater than in any other river of this region. This fact suggests a slightly different interpretation of the latter part of the word, viz. from a root *pak* or *pek*, used by the Maliseets and Micmacs for large bodies of lake-like still water, precisely such as the Kennebec shows; and presumably this root was used also by the Abenakis who lived on this river. The word would then be composed of two roots, *Kóoné-pac*, that is, "long still water," which with a final locative syllable, *ik*, with the *k* omitted, as was common in case of Indian words adopted by the French, would give Champlain's form.

l'amboucheure de la riuiere, où nous peschasmes quātité de plusieurs sortes de bons poissons : cependant nos sauuages allerent à la chasse, mais ils n'ē reuindrēt point. Le chemin par où nous descendismes ladicte riuiere est beaucoup plus seur & meilleur que celuy par où nous auiōs esté.[1] L'isle de la tortue qui est deuant l'ētree de lad. riuiere, est par la p. 63. hauteur de 44. degrez de latitude & 19. degrez 12. minutes de declinaison de la guide-aymant.[2] L'on va par ceste riuiere au trauers des terres iusques à Quebec quelque 50. lieues sans passer qu'vn trajet de terre de deux lieues : puis on entre dedans vne autre petite riuiere qui viēt descēdre dedans le grād fleuue S. Laurens.[3] Ceste riuiere de Quinibequy est fort dāgereuse pour les vaisseaux à demye lieue au dedans, pour le peu d'eau, grandes marees, rochers & basses qu'il y a,

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lake, and came to anchor the same day at the mouth of the river, where we caught a great number of many kinds of fine fish. Meanwhile our Indians went hunting but did not return. The channel by which we descended the said river is very much safer and better than that by which we had gone up.[1] Tortoise Island, which lies off the mouth of the said river, is in latitude 44°, and the magnetic variation is 19° 12′.[2] One can go by this river across country some fifty leagues to Quebec without making a portage of more than two leagues; then one enters another little river which descends into the great river St. Lawrence.[3] This river Kennebec, for half a league from its mouth, is very dangerous for vessels, because of the shallow water, great tides, rocks, and shoals found both

[1] The route by which they descended was the main Kennebec.

[2] The real latitude of Seguin Island is 43° 42′ 10″ : and in 1891 the magnetic variation was 14° 45′.

[3] The portage route by way of Dead River and the Chaudière, which was later made famous as the route of Arnold in his disastrous expedition against Quebec. *Cf.* Justin H. Smith, *Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec* (New York, 1903).

tant dehors que dedans.[1] Il n'y laisse pas d'y auoir bon achenal s'il estoit bien recogneu. Si peu de pays que i'ay veu le long des riuages est fort mauuais : car ce ne sont que rochers de toutes parts. Il y a quantité de petits chesnes, & fort peu de terres labourables.[2] Ce lieu est abōdant en poisson, comme sont les autres riuieres cy dessus dictes. Les peuples viuent comme ceux de nostre habitation, & nous dirent, que les sauuages qui semoient le bled d'Inde, estoient fort auant dans les terres,[3] & qu'ils auoient delaissé d'en faire sur les costes pour la guerre qu'ils auoient auec d'autres, qui leur venoient prendre. Voila ce que i'ay peu aprendre de ce lieu, lequel ie croy n'estre meilleur que les autres.

p. 64. [PLANCHE : QUI NI BE QUY.]

p. 65. Le 8. du mois partismes de l'emboucheure d'icelle riuiere

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outside and inside.[1] There is, nevertheless, a good channel if it were well explored. The little of the country I saw along the banks is very bad; for it is nothing but rocks everywhere. There are quantities of small oaks but very little cultivable land.[2] The place abounds in fish, as do the other rivers already described. The people live like those near our settlement; and they informed us that the Indians who cultivated Indian corn lived far inland,[3] and had ceased to grow it on the coasts on account of the war they used to wage with others who came and seized it. That is what I was able to learn about this place, which I believe to be no better than the others. [PLATE LXXII.]

On the eighth of the month we set out from the mouth of

[1] *East Coast of the United States Pilot*, i. 188 : "The entrance is much obstructed by shoals and ledges."

[2] Champlain's unfavourable impression of the lower Kennebec was natural; for its steep banks are prevailingly stony. Farms and villages along the river, and great numbers of summer houses at its mouth, now give the region a more pleasing aspect.

[3] These Indians were apparently the *Abenacquiouoict* at the source of this river on the map of 1632. They were of course the Abenaquis of the later French, and Abenakis of our day.

ce que ne peusmes faire plustost à cause des brumes que nous eusmes. Nous fismes ce iour quelque quatre lieux, & passames par vne baye où il y a quantité d'isles ;[1] & voit on d'icelle de grandes montaignes à l'ouest,[2] où est la demeure d'vn Capitaine sauuage appelé Aneda, qui se tient proche de la riuiere de Quinibequy. Ie me parsuaday par ce nom que c'estoit vn de sa race qui auoit trouué l'herbe appelée Aneda, que Iacques Quartier a dict auoir tant de puissance contre la maladie appelee Scurbut, dont nous auons des-ia parlé, qui tourmenta ses gens aussi bien que les nostres, lors qu'ils yuernerēt en Canade. Les sauuages ne cognoissent point ceste herbe, ny ne sçauent que c'est, bien que ledit sauuage en porte le nō.[3] Le lēdemain fismes huit lieues. Costoyāt la

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this river, having been unable to do so earlier on account of fogs. That day we made some four leagues, and passed a bay in which lie a great many islands :[1] and from it one sees high mountains towards the west,[2] where dwells an Indian chief named Aneda, who lives near the river Kennebec. From his name I am convinced it was one of this tribe who discovered the plant called Aneda, which was stated by Jacques Cartier to possess such potency against the disease called scurvy, of which we have already spoken—the same which tormented his men as well as our own when they wintered in Canada. The Indians are not acquainted with this plant, nor do they know what it is, although the said Indian bears the same name.[3] The next day we made eight leagues.

[1] Casco Bay. On the map of 1607 it is called *baye de Marchen*, obviously because it was the place where Champlain and Poutrincourt met the chief Marchin in the following year. On his map of 1632 Champlain shows this bay with seven islands, named *Les sept Isles*.

[2] The White Mountains of New Hampshire, said to be visible from Casco Bay. They are shown upon Champlain's map of 1607 (Plate LXXX).

[3] Of this Indian chief Aneda we know nothing further. The identity of the tree Anneda is discussed in the Champlain Society's edition of Lescarbot, ii. 153.

coste nous apperçeusmes deux fumees que nous faisoiēt des sauuages, vers lesquelles nous fusmes mouiller l'ancre derriere vn petit islet proche de la grande terre,[1] où nous vismes plus de quatre vingts sauuages qui accouroyēt le long de la coste pour nous voir, dansant & faisant signe de la resiouissance qu'ils en auoient. Le sieur de Mons enuoya deux hommes auec nostre sauuage pour les aller trouuer : & aprés qu'ils
p. 66. eurent parlé quelque temps à eux, & les eurent asseurez de nostre amitié nous leur laissames vn de nos gēs, & eux nous baillerent vn de leurs compagnons en ostage : Cepēdāt le sieur de Mōs fut visiter vne isle, qui est fort belle de ce qu'elle contient, y ayant de beaux chesnes & noyers, la terre deffrichee & force vignes, qui aportent de beaux raisins en leur saison : c'estoit les premiers qu'eussions veu en toutes ces costes

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Continuing along the coast, we caught sight of two smokes which some Indians were making for us, and heading towards them we came to anchor behind a small island close to the mainland.[1] Here we saw more than eighty Indians, who ran along the shore to observe us, dancing and showing by signs their pleasure thereat. The Sieur de Monts sent two men with our Indian to go and fetch them ; and after these had spoken to them for some time and had assured them of our friendship, we left one of our men with them, and they delivered to us one of their companions as a hostage. Meantime the Sieur de Monts paid a visit to an island which is very beautiful on account of what it produces, having fine oaks and nut-trees, with cleared land and abundance of vines which in their season bear fine grapes. These were the first we had seen on

[1] Ram Island, just west of Richmonds Island, both of which lie a little beyond the eastern limit of our map of Saco Bay on Plate LXXIII, p. 330. Stratten Island, taken by Slafter to be the one here meant, is much too far off shore to be described as close to the mainland. Slafter's identification is doubtless based on the need for finding a time when the expedition anchored at Stratten Island, as shown on Champlain's map at letter M. There is good reason, however, for identifying this as the anchorage of the expedition on its return voyage, as noted on p. 363 *infra*.

depuis le cap de la Héue[1] : Nous la nōmasmes l'isle de Bacchus.[2] Estans de pleine mer nous leuasmes l'ancre, & entrasmes dedans vne petite riuiere,[3] où nous ne peusmes plustost : d'autant que c'est vn haure de barre, n'y ayant de basse mer que demie brasse d'eau, de plaine mer brasse & demie, & du grand de l'eau deux brasses ; quand on est dedans il y en a trois, quatre, cinq & six.[4] Comme nous

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any of these coasts from cape La Have.[1] We named it the Island of Bacchus.[2] As the tide was high, we weighed anchor and made our way into a small river,[3] which we could not enter earlier because the harbour has a bar, on which at low tide there is not more than half a fathom of water, though at high tide there is a fathom and a half, and at spring tides two fathoms ; inside there are three, four, five, and six.[4] After

[1] *Cf.* p. 236 *supra.*

[2] This, as all commentators agree, was Richmonds Island, which projects somewhat prominently between Casco Bay and Saco Bay. It is joined to the mainland by a sand-bar. Evidently the expedition passed it while seeking an anchorage, which they found at Ram Island mentioned on the preceding page ; thence Monts must have returned to Bacchus Island in the small boat. Champlain shows it very clearly on his maps of 1607 and 1612, and less plainly on that of 1632.

[3] The Saco, called by Champlain Choüacoet, and mapped by him under that name (Plate LXXIII, p. 330).

[4] The pinnace probably anchored for a time at the place marked R upon Champlain's map, indicated upon our modern map by an anchor. From this point Champlain apparently sketched his map of Saco Bay ; for this best explains his treatment of the islands in the western part of this bay.

As a result of careful studies on the ground, I am convinced, as was Laverdière, that the four letters O used by Champlain to mark his four islands have been converted by the engraver into small islets, making a group of eight islands, of which we have to explain only the four larger. Of these the outermost represents Wood Island, while the smaller, bound to it by shoals, can be only Tappan Island, then very likely much larger than now. The innermost island represents, I believe, the prominent rocky knoll in the long sand beach, which sends a mass of ledges and sand-bars out to Basket Island. From the anchorage, Basket Island

eusmes mouillé l'ancre il vint à nous quantité de sauuages sur le bort de la riuiere, qui commencerent à dancer : Leur Capitaine pour lors n'estoit auec eux, qu'ils appeloient Honemechin :[1] il arriua enuiron deux ou trois heures apres auec deux canaux, puis s'en vint tournoyant tout autour de nostre barque. Nostre sauuage ne pouuoit entendre que quelques mots, d'autant que la langue Almouchiquoise, comme s'appelle ceste nation, differe du tout de celle des Souriquois & Etechemins.[2] Ces peuples demonstroient estre fort contens :

p. 67.

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we had cast anchor, a large number of Indians came towards us upon the bank of the river and began to dance. Their chief, whose name was Honemechin,[1] was not then with them; but he arrived about two or three hours later with two canoes, and went circling round and round our pinnace. Our Indian could understand only certain words, inasmuch as the language of the Almouchiquois, for so that nation is called, differs entirely from that of the Souriquois and Etechemins.[2] These people showed that they were much pleased. Their

would show projected against this knoll and appear as one island with it. The position of the middle large island, immediately north of the passage into the Pool, in which Champlain marks a fathom of depth, seems to identify it with the high rocky hill on which stands Fort Mary, while its eastward extension probably represents Stage Island, which from Champlain's sketching point would be projected against the higher knoll, and seem continuous with this. Champlain's map gives no trace of the great sand beach which now connects the rocky knolls with one another and with the mainland, and it seems most likely that from his anchorage he could not distinguish it from the upland beyond. If he entered the Pool, he could hardly have failed to perceive the beach, unless it did not then exist.

[1] Lescarbot (*Histoire*, ii. 322-5) calls him *Olemechin*. *Cf.* p. 398.

[2] Panounias was meant, not his wife. She was an Almouchiquois who had been brought along as an interpreter (*f* p. 311 *supra*); but apparently some tragedy had occurred, for no further mention of her is made.

leur chef estoit de bonne façon, ieune & bien dispost : l'on enuoya quelque marchandise à terre pour traicter auec eux, mais ils n'auoient rien que leurs robbes, qu'ils changerēt, car ils ne font aucune prouision de pelleterie que pour se vestir. Le sieur de Mons fit donner à leur chef quelques commoditez, dont il fut fort satisfait, & vint plusieurs fois à nostre bort pour nous veoir. Ces sauuages se rasent le poil de dessus le crasne assez haut, & portent le reste fort longs, qu'ils peignent & tortillent par derriere en plusieurs façons fort proprement, auec des plumes qu'ils attachent sur leur teste.[1] Ils se peindent le visage de noir & rouge comme les autres sauuages qu'auons veus. Ce sont gens disposts bien formez de leur corps : leurs armes sont piques, massues, arcs & fleches, au bout desquelles aucuns mettent la queue d'vn poisson appelé Signoc,[2] d'autres y accommodent des os, & d'autres en ont

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chief was good-looking, young and active. We sent some goods on shore to barter with them, but they possessed only their clothes; which they bartered ; for they make no provision of furs except to clothe themselves. The Sieur de Monts had certain articles given to their chief, with which he was much pleased, and he came on board several times to visit us. These Indians shave off their hair fairly high up on the head, and wear the remainder very long, combing and twisting it very neatly behind in several ways, with feathers which they fasten on their heads.[1] They paint their faces black and red, like the other Indians we have seen. They are an active people with well-formed bodies. Their weapons are spears, clubs, bows, and arrows. At the end of these latter some of them fasten the tail of a fish called signoc ;[2] others

[1] On his map of 1612 Champlain gives two pictures of the Almouchiquois Indians, but they do not agree very well with the present description. Probably the engraver's fancy rather than Champlain's knowledge determined that representation.

[2] The *signoc* or *siguenoc* was the horseshoe crab, described on p. 358 *infra*.

toutes de bois. Ils labourent & cultiuent la terre, ce que n'auions encores veu. Au lieu de charuës ils ont vn instrument de bois fort dur, faict en façon d'vne besche. Ceste riuiere s'appelle des habitans du pays Choüacoet.[1]

Le lendemain le sieur de Mons fut à terre pour veoir leur
p. 68. labourage sur le bort de la riuiere, & moy auec luy, & vismes leur bleds qui sont bleds d'Inde, qu'ils font en iardinages, semant trois ou quatre grains en vn lieu, aprés ils assemblent tout autour auec des escailles du susdit signoc quãtité de

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use bones, while others make them entirely of wood. They till and cultivate the land, a practice we had not seen previously. In place of ploughs they use an instrument of very hard wood made in the shape of a spade. This river is called by the inhabitants of the country Chouacoet.[1]

The following day the Sieur de Monts went on shore to view their fields upon the bank of the river, and I with him. We saw their grain, which is Indian corn. This they grow in gardens, sowing three or four grains in one spot, after which, with the shells of the aforesaid signoc, they heap about

[1] A number of derivations have been given for this word, but its real origin has not yet been elucidated. Slafter (*op. cit.*, ii. 64) simply gives the Indian *M'-soo-ah-koo-et*, assigning to it no meaning. Vetromile connected it with Almouchiquois in the form Almuchicoit, giving it the meaning "land of the little dog"; but he added no evidence, and is wholly unreliable (*The Abnakis and their History*, 24). Laurent, himself an Abnaki, gives it as *soksai*, meaning "from the south side," "southern"; but such a word would not be used by the inhabitants of themselves, as Champlain shows that this was (*New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues*, 220). The most probable explanation is given by J. Hammond Trumbull (*Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, ii. 1870, 30), who makes its root word the common Abnaki *sa^{n}gωk*, meaning "outlet of a river," the same which is involved in the first part of the name Sagadahock, the Indian name for the region at the mouth of the Kennebec river. This root with the locative *t*, which was used by the French indifferently with *k*, would give Champlain's *Choüacoet*, and would agree with the various early forms noted by Slafter. The use of this word by Champlain is, I believe, the earliest known. Cf. *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.*, ii. 1847, 81.

terre : Puis à trois pieds delà en sement encore autant ; & ainsi consecutiuement. Parmy ce bled à chasque touffeau ils plãtent 3. ou. 4. febues du Bresil, qui vienẽt de diuerses couleurs. Estans grandes elles s'entrelassent autour dud. bled, qui leue de la hauteur de cinq à six pieds : & tiennent le champ fort net de mauuaises herbes. Nous y vismes force citrouilles, courges & petum, qu'ils cultiuẽt aussi.[1] Le bled d'Inde que nous y vismes pour lors estoit de deux pieds de haut ; il y en auoit aussi de trois. Pour les febues elles cõmẽçoiẽt à entrer en fleur, cõme faisoyẽt les courges & citrouilles. Ils sement leur bled en May, & le recueillent en Septembre. Nous y vismes grande quantité de noix, qui

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it a quantity of earth. Then three feet away they sow as much again, and so on in order. Amongst this corn they plant in each hillock three or four Brazilian beans, which come up of different colours. When fully grown these plants twine around the aforementioned corn, which grows to a height of five to six feet ; and they keep the ground very free from weeds. We saw there many squashes, pumpkins, and tobacco, which they likewise cultivate.[1] The Indian corn we saw was then two feet in height, and there was also some three feet high. As for the beans, they were beginning to burst into flower, as were likewise the pumpkins and squashes. They plant their corn in May, and harvest it in September. We saw there a great many nuts, which

[1] Most of these plants were seen by Champlain for the first time, and naturally aroused his keen interest. The Indian corn (*Zea Mays* Linn.) is a native American plant, known to have been cultivated from a far antiquity ; Brazilian beans were evidently the familiar Bush-bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris* Linn.), likewise a native American plant, as were also the pumpkins, squashes (*Cucurbita Pepo* Linn.) and tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica* Linn.). Slafter discusses these plants (*op. cit.*, ii. 64) ; and the scientific evidence upon their origin is considered by Asa Gray in *American Journal of Science*, xxv. 1883, 372, and by Sturtevant in the *American Naturalist*, xxi. 1887, 327 ; xxiv. 1890, 727, 959.

sont petites, & ont plusieurs quartiers.[1] Il n'y en auoit point encores aux arbres, mais nous en trouasmes assez dessoubs, qui estoient de l'annee precedente. Nous vismes aussi force vignes, ausquelles y auoit de fort beau grain, dont nous fismes de tresbon veriust, ce que n'auions point encores veu qu'en l'isle de Bacchus, distante d'icelle riuiere prés de
p. 69. deux lieues. Leur demeure arrestee, le labourage, & les beaux arbres, nous firent iuger que l'air y est plus temperé & meilleur que celuy où nous yuernasmes, ny que les autres lieux de la coste : Mais que ie croye qu'il n'y face vn peu de froit, bien que ce soit par la hauteur de 43. degrez 3. quarts de latitude, non.[2] Les forests dans les terres sont fort claires, mais pourtāt rēplies de chesnes, hestres fresnes & ormeaux : Dans les lieux aquatiques il y a quantité de saules. Les sauuages se tiennent tousiours en ce lieu, & ont vne grande Cabanne entouree de pallissades, faictes d'assez gros arbres

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are small and have several divisions.[1] As yet there were none on the trees, but underneath we found plenty from the preceding year. We saw also many vines, on which were exceedingly fine berries, and from these we made some very good juice; we had not seen these previously except on the island of Bacchus, distant from this river about two leagues. The fixed abodes, the cultivated fields, and the fine trees led us to the conclusion that the climate here is more temperate and better than that where we wintered, and than at the other places on this coast. Not that I am of opinion that it is not cold here, although the place lies in latitude 43° 45′.[2] The forests inland are very open, but nevertheless abound in oaks, beeches, ashes, and elms, and in wet places there are numbers of willows. The Indians remain permanently in this place, and have a large wigwam surrounded by palisades formed of rather large trees placed one against the other;

[1] The hickories, *Carya* species, chiefly no doubt *C. ovata* (Mill.) K. Koch. Cf. Slafter, *op. cit.*, ii. 112.

[2] The latitude of the mouth of the Saco river is 43° 28′.

renges les vns contre les autres, où ils se retirent lors que leurs ennemis leur viennent faire la guerre.[1] Ils couurēt leurs cabannes d'escorce de chesnes. Ce lieu est fort plaisant & aussi aggreable que lieu que l'on puisse voir. La riuiere est fort abondante en poisson, enuironnee de prairies. A l'entree y a vn islet capable d'y faire vne bonne forteresse, où l'on seroit en seureté. [PLANCHE : CHOUACOIT R.] p. 70.

Le dimanche 12. du mois [2] nous partismes de la riuiere p. 71.
appelee Choüacoet, & rengeāt la coste aprés auoir fait quelque

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and into this they retire when their enemies come to make war against them.[1] They cover their wigwams with oak bark. This place is very pleasant, and as attractive a spot as one can see anywhere. The river; which is bordered with meadows; abounds greatly in fish. At its mouth lies an islet adapted for the construction of a good fortress where one would be safe. [PLATE LXXIII.]

On Sunday; the twelfth of the month,[2] we set out from the river called Saco, and, coasting along shore, made

[1] The site of the camping ground E was the pleasant little hill on the south side of the river, just where the upland gives way to the sand of the long beach. According to Mrs. Harry Jordan Tatterson, upon whose estate the larger part of this site falls, a great many Indian relics were formerly found here. At the spot marked by a small cross on our modern map of Saco is a fine spring, known as *The Indian Spring*, while behind the little hill there is good land for cultivation.

The site of the fortified camp marked B on Champlain's map is placed higher than the little brook on the north side of the river, as drawn on our modern map. In approximately the correct position rises a conspicuous bluff of sheer rock, too steep to be climbed from the water side, and having a fair level field upon the top; it is a commanding site, affording a view both up and down the river. Upon the edge of this bluff probably stood the fortified camp. *Cf.* Slafter, *op. cit.*, ii. 67: "The site of this Indian fortification was a rocky bluff on the western side of the river, now owned by Mr. John Ward, where from time to time Indian relics have been found."

[2] Laverdière (*op. cit.*, iii. 55) pointed out that the twelfth of July fell on a Tuesday.

6. ou 7. lieues le vent se leua contraire, qui nous fit mouiller l'ancre & mettre pied à terre, où nous vismes deux prairies, chacune desquelles contenoit enuiron vne lieue de long, & demie de large.[1] Nous y aperceusmes deux sauuages que pensions à l'abbort estre de gros oiseaux qui sōt en ce pays là appelés outardes,[2] qui nous ayans aduisés, prindrent la fuite dans les bois, & ne parurent plus. Depuis Choüacoet iusques en ce lieu où vismes de petits oiseaux, qui ont le chant comme merles, noirs horsmis le bout des aisles, qui sont orangés,[3] il y a quantité de vignes & noyers. Ceste coste est sablōneuse en la pluspart des endroits depuis Quinibequy. Ce iour nous retournasmes deux ou trois lieux deuers Choüacoet iusques

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some six or seven leagues, when a contrary wind arose which obliged us to cast anchor. We landed, and saw two meadows, each of which contained about a league in length and a half league in breadth.[1] We saw there two Indians, whom at first we mistook for those great birds called in that country bustards.[2] As soon as they espied us they fled into the woods and did not reappear. Between Saco and this place we saw some little birds which have a note like blackbirds, and are black except the tips of the wings, which are orange.[3] There are also numbers of grape-vines and nut-trees. This coast in most of the places on this side of Kennebec is sandy. That day we went back two or three leagues towards Saco, as far as

[1] The landing place was probably near Wells Neck, and the meadows were the Salt Marshes of Wells, as Slafter pointed out (*op. cit.*, ii. 68). On the map of 1632 this place is marked with the number 64, answering to the legend *belles prairies*, "fine meadows."

[2] The Canada geese, commonly called wild geese (*Branta canadensis* (Linn.) Swainson). In Europe *outarde* is the bustard (*Otis tarda* Linn.), a large game bird which does not occur in America. Following the usual rule, its name was transferred by the early French voyagers to the bird which most nearly took its place. They are still so called both in Canadian and Acadian French (*Identity*, 229).

[3] These are the familiar red-winged blackbirds (*Agelaius phœniceus* (Linn.) Vieillot), abundant throughout this region.

à vn cap qu'auons nommé le port aux isles, bon pour des vaisseaux de cent tonneaux, qui est parmy trois isles.[1] Mettant le cap au nordest quart du nort proche de ce lieu, l'on entre en vn autre port où il n'y a aucun passage (bien que ce soient isles) que celluy par où on entre, où à l'entree y a quelques brisans de rochers qui sont dangereux.[2] En ces isles y a tant de groiselles rouges que l'on ne voit autre chose en la pluspart, & vn nombre infini de tourtes, dont nous en p. 72.
prismes bonne quantité.[3] Ce port aux isles est par la hauteur de 43. degrez 25. minutes de latitude.[4]

Le 15. dudit mois fismes 12. lieues. Costoyans la coste nous apperçeusmes vne fumee sur le riuage de la mer, dōt

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a cape which we named Island harbour, with a harbour lying among three islands, and good for vessels of 100 tons.[1] Heading north-east, a quarter north, one enters another harbour near this place, into which there is no entrance (although it is among islands) except that by which one enters. At the mouth of it are some breakers which are dangerous.[2] Upon these islands grow so many red currants that one can hardly see anything else; and there are also countless numbers of pigeons, whereof we took a goodly quantity.[3] This Island harbour lies in latitude 43° 25′.[4]

On the fifteenth of this month we made twelve leagues. Coasting along the shore we perceived smoke upon the

[1] The present Cape Porpoise harbour, enclosed by three islands. It is marked on all Champlain's maps, that of 1612 making its identity certain.

[2] This can be none other than Goose Fair Bay described in the *Coast Pilot* as a "shallow cove full of rocks and ledges." Champlain is describing the northern part, behind Timber Island. It cannot possibly be the mouth of the Kennebunk river, as Laverdière supposed (*op. cit.*, iii. 56), because that lies to the south-westward and is not among islands. The expedition apparently remained in this harbour two or three days.

[3] The Passenger pigeon, commonly called wild pigeon (*Ectopistes migratorius* (Linn.) Swainson), once as abundant as our author describes, but now completely extinct. The red currants are presumably a variety of the swamp red currant (*Ribes triste* Pall.), and are pictured as *groiselle rouge* on his map of 1612, Plate LXXXI.

[4] The real latitude is 43° 21′.

nous approchasmes le plus qu'il nous fut possible, & ne vismes aucun sauuage, ce qui nous fit croire qu'ils s'en estoient fuys. Le soleil s'en alloit bas, & ne peusmes trouuer lieu pour nous loger icelle nuict, à cause que la coste estoit platte, & sablonneuse. Mettant le cap au su pour nous esloigner, afin de mouiller l'ancre, ayant fait enuiron deux lieues nous apperçeusmes vn cap à la grande terre au su quart du suest de nous, où il pouuoit auoir quelque six lieues :[1] à l'est deux lieues apperçeusmes trois ou quatre isles assez hautes,[2] & à louest vn grand cu de sac.[3] La coste de ce cul de sac toute rengee iusques au cap peut entrer dans les terres du lieu où nous estions enuiron quatre lieues : il en a deux de large nort & su, & trois en son entree : Et ne recognoissant aucun lieu propre

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beach, whereupon we approached as close as we could, but did not see a single Indian, which made us believe they had fled. The sun was setting, and we were unable to find a place in which to pass the night, because the coast was low and sandy. Steering south to get away from the land that we might anchor, after sailing about two leagues we perceived a cape on the mainland to the south, one quarter south-east of us, at a distance of some six leagues.[1] Two leagues to the east we saw three or four rather high islands,[2] and to the westward a large bay.[3] The coast of this bay, ranging around to the cape, extends inland from the place where we were about four leagues. It is some two leagues broad from north to south and three across its entrance.

[1] Cape Ann.

[2] The prominent Isles of Shoals. These are shown on Champlain's maps, being called on that of 1607 *Isles Jetées*. See Plate LXXX.

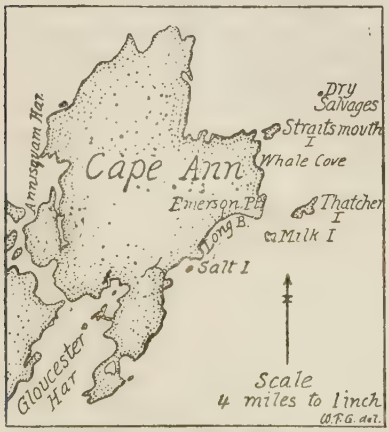
[3] The bay cannot be other than the great bight between Capes Neddick and Ann, but Champlain, both in his text and on his map of 1612, makes it far narrower and deeper than it is, giving it upon his maps the inappropriate name of *la baye Longue*, "the Long Bay." We can only suppose that the weather conditions were such as to deceive him. His *La ronde Ile*, shown at Cape Neddick, is the present Nubble. To the westward lies Portsmouth harbour, while the large river in the bottom of the bay would be the Merrimac. See Plates LXXXI-LXXXII.

pour nous loger, nous resolusmes d'aller au cap cy dessus à petites voilles vne partie de la nuict, & en aprochasmes à 16. brasses d'eaue où nous mouillasmes l'ancre attendant le poinct du iour.

Le lendemain nous fusmes au susd. cap, où il y a trois isles p. 73. proches de la grād terre,[1] pleines de bois de diferentes sortes, cōme à Chouacoet & par toute la coste : & vne autre platte, où la mer brise, qui iette vn peu plus à la mer que les autres, où il n'y en a point.[2] Nous nommasmes ce lieu le cap aux isles,[3] proche duquel apperçeusmes vn canau, où il y auoit 5.

Not discovering any suitable place to anchor, we determined to proceed to the above-mentioned cape under short sail for part of the night; and approached to sixteen fathoms of water, where we cast anchor to await daybreak.

The next day we made our way to the above-mentioned cape, where, close to the mainland,[1] are three islands which are covered with trees of different sorts, like those at Saco and along this whole coast. There is another low island upon which the sea breaks, which extends a little farther out to sea than the others, and upon it are no trees.[2] We named this place the Island Cape.[3] Near it we caught sight of a canoe in



[1] Cape Ann, and the group comprising Straitsmouth, Thatcher, and Milk Islands, all rather low, but rendered conspicuous by their position.

[2] Dry Salvages, the principal of the Salvages Rocks; it is a bare ledge but permanently above water, while the sea is incessantly breaking upon its smaller and lower neighbours.

[3] Cape Ann.

ou 6. sauuages, qui vindrent à nous, lesquels estans prés de nostre barque s'en allerent danser sur le riuage. Le sieur de Mons m'enuoya à terre pour les veoir, & leur donner à chacun vn cousteau & du biscuit, ce qui fut cause qu'ils redanserent mieux qu'auparauant. Cela fait ie leur fis entendre le mieux qu'il me fut possible, qu'ils me monstrassent comme alloit la coste. Apres leur auoir depeint auec vn charbon la baye & le cap aux isles, où nous estions,[1] ils me figurerent auec le mesme creon, vne autre baye qu'ils representoient fort grande,[2] où ils mirent six cailloux d'esgalle distance, me donnant par là à entendre que chacune des marques estoit autant de chefs & peuplades :[3] puis figurerent dedans lad. baye vne riuiere

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which were five or six Indians, who came towards us, but after approaching our pinnace, went back to dance upon the beach. The Sieur de Monts sent me ashore to visit them, and to give to each a knife and some biscuit, which caused them to dance better than ever. When this was over, I made them understand as well as I could, that they should show me how the coast trended. After I had drawn for them with a charcoal the bay and the Island Cape, where we then were,[1] they pictured for me with the same charcoal another bay which they represented as very large.[2] Here they placed six pebbles at equal intervals, giving me thereby to understand that each one of these marks represented that number of chiefs and tribes.[3] Next

[1] Champlain's *Baye Longue* and Cape Ann.

[2] Massachusetts Bay.

[3] Slafter (*op. cit.*, ii. 71) points out that this report is confirmed by the historian Gookin, who was superintendent of Indian Affairs for Massachusetts in 1656, and who in 1674 wrote: "Their chief sachem held dominion over many other petty governours; as those of Weechagaskas, Neponsitt, Punkapaog, Nonantam, Nashaway, and some of the Nipmuck people, as far as Pokomtacuke, as the old men of Massachusetts affirmed."

These Indians were apparently not so much separate tribes as divisions of one tribe, the Massachusetts Indians. Champlain himself shows a similar arrangement of the Etechemins. Laverdière considered *Massachusetts* and *Almouchiquois* as forms of the same word, but this seems extremely doubtful.

que nous auions passee, qui s'estent fort loing, & est batturiere.[1] Nous trouuasmes en cet endroit des vignes en quantité, dont le veriust estoit vn peu plus gros que des poix ; & force p. 74. noyers, où les noix n'estoient pas plus grosses que des balles d'arquebuse. Ces sauuages nous dirent, que tous ceux qui habitoient en ce pays cultiuoient & ensemensoient la terre, comme les autres qu'auions veu auparauant. Ce lieu est par la hauteur de 43. degrez, & quelque minutes de latitude.[2] Ayant fait demie lieue nous apperçeusmes plusieurs sauuages sur la pointe d'vn rocher, qui couroient le long de la coste, en dansant, vers leurs compagnons, pour les aduertir de nostre venue. Nous ayant mōstré le quartier de leur demeure, ils firēt signal de fumees pour nous mōstrer l'endroit de leur habitation. Nous fusmes mouiller l'ancre proche d'vn petit islet, où l'ō enuoya nostre canau pour porter quelques cous-

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they represented within the said bay a river which we had passed, which is very long and has shoals.[1] We found here quantities of vines on which the unripe grapes were a little larger than peas, and also many nut-trees, the nuts on which were no larger than musket-balls. These Indians informed us that all those who lived in this region cultivated the land and sowed seeds like the others we had previously seen. This place is in latitude 43° and some minutes.[2] Having gone half a league we perceived upon a rocky point several Indians who ran dancing along the shore towards their companions to inform them of our coming. Having indicated to us the direction of their home, they made signal-smokes to show us the site of their settlement. We came to anchor close to a little island, to which we sent our canoe with some

[1] The Merrimac, which has shoals at its mouth. It is marked on Champlain's maps as emptying into the head of *baye Longue*. On his smaller map of 1612 the name *Charente* appears beside this river.

[2] The latitude of Cape Ann, at Straitsmouth Island, is 42° 40′. On his map of 1607 the variation is given as 19° 22′.

teaux & gallettes aux sauuages ; & apperçeusmes à la quantité qu'ils estoiēt que ces lieux sont plus habitez que les autres que nous auiōs veus.[1] Aprés auoir arresté quelques deux heures pour cōsiderer ces peuples, qui ont leurs canaux faicts descorce de boulleau, comme les Canadiens, Souriquois & Etechemins, nous leuasmes l'ancre, & auec apparence de beau temps nous nous mismes à la voille. Poursuiuāt nostre routte à l'ouest surouest, nous y vismes plusieurs isles à l'vn & l'autre bort. Ayant fait 7. a 8. lieues nous mouillasmes l'ancre
p. 75. proche d'vne isle [2] où apperçeusmes force fumees tout le lōg

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knives and biscuits for the Indians, and observed from their numbers that these places are more populous than the others we had seen.[1] Having tarried some two hours to observe these people, whose canoes are built of birch-bark like those of the Canadians, Souriquois, and Etechemins, we raised anchor and with promise of fine weather set sail. Continuing our course to the west-south-west, we saw several islands upon either hand. Having gone seven to eight leagues we anchored near an island,[2] where we saw many

[1] It is not possible to identify these places with certainty, but the conference apparently took place in Whale Cove, just south of Straitsmouth Island; the half league to the rocky point took them to Emerson Point, opposite Thatcher Island; the shore along which the Indians ran was Long Beach; and the little island where they came to anchor was Salt Island (not Thatcher Island, as Slafter thought), which appears prominently on Champlain's map of Gloucester harbour, or Beauport, made the next year (*cf.* pp. 334 *supra* and 401 *infra*). From Salt Island they stood away to the south-west, missing Gloucester harbour for the time being.

Although Champlain found a great many Indians scattered along this coast, the earliest English settlers after 1620 found very few, and in many places, *e.g.* Gloucester, none at all. They had been destroyed by a great pestilence in the year 1617–18.

[2] This may have been Noddles Island as Slafter thought, and certainly this supposition agrees with the distances mentioned, but more probably it was Nahant, for on Champlain's map of 1607 there is a large island, too far north for the group off Boston harbour. Nahant is actually a peninsula, being connected with the mainland by a beach, but so are Richmonds Island and other places which Champlain nevertheless designates islands.

de la coste, & beaucoup de sauuages qui accouroient pour nous voir. Le sieur de Mons enuoya deux ou trois hommes vers eux dedans vn canau, ausquels il bailla des cousteaux & patenostres pour leur presenter, dont ils furent fort aises, & danserent plusieurs fois en payement. Nous ne peusmes sçauoir le nom de leur chef, à cause que nous n'entendiōs pas leur langue. Tout le long du riuage y a quantité de terre deffrichee, & semee de bled d'Inde. Le pays est fort plaisant & aggreable : neātmoins il ne laisse d'y auoir force beaux bois. Ceux qui l'habitent ont leurs canaux faicts tout d'vne piece, fort subiets à tourner, si on n'est bien adroit à les gouuerner : & n'en auions point encore veu de ceste façon. voicy comme ils les font. Apres auoir eu beaucoup de peine, & esté long temps à abbatre vn arbre le plus gros & le plus haut qu'ils ont peu trouuer, auec des haches de pierre (car ils n'en ont point d'autres, si ce n'est que quelques vns d'eux en recouurent par le moyen des sauuages de la coste d'Accadie, ausquels on

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columns of smoke along the coast and many Indians, who came running to see us. The Sieur de Monts sent two or three men to them in a canoe, giving these men knives and rosaries to present to the Indians, who were much pleased therewith, and danced several times in acknowledgment. We could not learn the name of their chief, because we did not understand their language. All along this coast there is much cleared land sown with Indian corn. The country is very pleasant and agreeable, with no lack also of many fine woods. Those who live here have canoes built of a single piece, and very liable to upset unless one is well skilled in managing them. We had heretofore not seen any of this kind. This is how they build them. After taking great trouble and spending much time in felling with hatchets of stone (for except a few who get them from the Indians of the Acadian coast, with whom they are bartered for furs, they possess no others)

en porte pour traicter de peleterie) ils ostent l'escorce & l'arrondissent, horsmis d'vn costé, où ils mettēt du feu peu a peu tout le long de la piece : & prennēt quelques fois des
p. 76. cailloux rouges & enflāmez, qu'ils posent aussi dessus : & quand le feu est trop aspre, ils l'esteignent auec vn peu d'eau, non pas du tout, mais de peur que le bord du canau ne brusle. Estant assez creux à leur fantasie, ils le raclent de toutes parts auec des pierres, dont ils se seruent au lieu de cousteaux. Les cailloux dequoy ils font leurs trenchans sont semblables à nos pierres à fusil.[1]

Le lendemain 17. dud. mois leuasmes l'ancre pour aller à vn cap, que nous auions veu le iour precedēt, qui nous demeuroit cōme au su surouest.[2] Ce iour ne peusmes faire que 5. lieues, & passames par quelques isles remplies de bois. Ie

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the thickest and tallest tree they can find, they remove the bark and round off the trunk, except upon one side, where they gradually apply fire throughout its whole length. Sometimes they also place glowing red-hot stones upon it. If the fire becomes too fierce, they extinguish it with a little water, not completely, but to prevent the edge of the canoe from burning. When it is hollow enough for their fancy, they scrape it all over with stones, which they use in place of knives. The stones from which they make their cutting tools are like our musket flints.[1]

On the following day, the seventeenth of the same month, we weighed anchor to go towards a cape we had seen the day before, which appeared to lie to the south-south-west of us.[2] That day we could only make five leagues, and passed several

[1] The Massachusetts Indians went to the great labour of making dug-out canoes, instead of building them with birch-bark, because in their country the paper birch did not grow to a size sufficient for the purpose. Champlain apparently found the southern limit of birch-bark canoes to be at Cape Ann. The reader will find an account of the building of the bark canoes, in contrast with this description of the construction of dug-outs, in Denys' *Description* (Champlain Society's ed.), 420.

[2] No doubt the point at Scituate in Massachusetts Bay.

recognus en la baye tout ce que m'auoient depeint les sauuages au cap des isles. Poursuiuant nostre route il en vint à nous grād nōbre dans des canaux, qui sortoient des isles, & de la terre ferme. Nous fusmes ancrer à vne lieue du cap, qu'auons nommé S. Loys,[1] où nous apperçeusmes plusieurs fumees : y voulant aller nostre barque eschoua sur vne roche,[2] où nous fusmes en grand danger : car si nous n'y eussions promptement remedié, elle eut bouluersé dans la mer, qui perdoit tout à l'entour, où il y auoit 5. à 6. brasses d'eau : mais Dieu nous preserua, & fusmes mouiller l'ancre proche du susd. cap,[3] où il vint quinze ou seize canaux de sauuages, & en tel y en auoit 15. ou 16. qui commencerēt à monstrer grands signes p. 77. de resiouissance, & faisoient plusieurs sortes de harāgues, que

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islands covered with trees. I recognised in this bay everything the Indians at Island Cape had drawn for me. On continuing our route, a great number of Indians came out to us in their canoes, both from the islands and the mainland. We proceeded to anchor a league from the cape, which we named St. Louis.[1] At this place we perceived several smoke-signals, but on proceeding thither our pinnace grounded upon a rock,[2] placing us in great danger ; for if we had not promptly set matters right she would have upset, since the tide was running out and there was a depth of five to six fathoms of water. But God preserved us, and we came to anchor close to the said cape,[3] where some fifteen or sixteen canoes of Indians visited us. In some of the canoes were fifteen or sixteen persons, who began to exhibit great signs

[1] Brant Point, near Plymouth, a rather low cape. See map on p. 347.

[2] Bartlett Rock, to the south-east of Brant Point, of which the *Coast Pilot* says: "Bartlett Rock is a small rock, bare at low water, with depths around it ranging from 7 to 18 feet." They seem first to have come to anchor a league north of Brant Point, but, seeing smokes at the point, decided to proceed thither. When rounding to an anchorage for the night, in the shelter of the little cove south of the point, they struck on the rock, and, after freeing themselves, proceeded to the desired anchorage.

[3] Brant Point.

nous n'entendions nullemēt. Le sieur de Mons enuoya trois ou quatre hommes à terre dās nostre canau, tant pour auoir de l'eau, que pour voir leur chef nommé Honabetha, qui eut quelques cousteaux, & autres ioliuetés, que le sieur de Mons luy donna, lequel nous vint voir iusques en nostre bort, auec nombre de ses compagnons, qui estoient tant le long de la riue, que dans leurs canaux. L'on receut le chef fort humainement, & luy fit-on bonne chere : & y ayant esté quelque espace de temps, il s'en retourna. Ceux que nous auions enuoyés deuers eux, nous apporterent de petites citrouilles de la grosseur du poing, que nous mangeasmes en sallade comme coucombres, qui sont tresbonnes ; & du pourpié,[1] qui vient en quātité parmy le bled d'Inde, dont ils ne font non plus d'estat que de mauuaises herbes. Nous vismes en ce lieu grāde quātité de petites maisōnettes, qui sont parmy les champs où ils sement leur bled d'Inde.

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of joy, and to make various kinds of harangues which we in no wise understood. The Sieur de Monts sent three or four men ashore in our canoe, both to obtain water and also to see their chief, named Honabetha, who was given several knives and other trifles which the Sieur de Monts sent him. This man came on board to see us, with a number of his companions, who were both along the shore and in their canoes. We received the chief very kindly, and gave him good cheer. After remaining with us some time, he went back. The men we had sent to them brought us little squashes as big as your fist, which we ate as a salad like cucumbers, and they were very good. They brought us also some purslane,[1] which grows abundantly among the Indian corn, and of which they take no more account than if it were a weed. We saw in this place a great many little houses, which are situated in the fields where they sow their Indian corn.

[1] *Portulaca oleracea* Linn. It has been considered an immigrant, but, as this and other testimony proves, was then found in America.

Plus y a en icelle baye vne riuiere qui est fort spatieuse, laquelle auōs nommee la riuiere du Gas,[1] qui, à mon iugemēt, va rēdre vers les Yroquois, natiō qui a guerre ouuerte auec les mōtaignars qui sont en la grāde riuiere S. Lorans.

Furthermore in this bay there is a very broad river which we named the River Du Gas.[1] In my opinion it extends toward the Iroquois, a nation at open war with the Montagnais who live on the great river St. Lawrence.

[1] Champlain in closing this chapter evidently noticed he had forgotten the *River Du Gas*, and added it as an afterthought. He gives it on his map of 1612 for our present Charles River. Champlain probably saw only its mouth in Boston harbour, where it can well be designated broad, though farther up it becomes an insignificant stream. The river was named by Champlain in honour of his leader Monts, whose name was Du Gua or Guast. Boston harbour is named on his map of 1607 *baye des Isles*, a very appropriate characterisation. See Plates LXXX-LXXXII.

p. 78. *Continuation des descouuertures de la coste des Almouchiquois, & de ce qu'y auons remarqué de particulier.*

CHAP. VIII.

LE lendemain doublasmes le cap S. Louys, ainsi nommé par le sieur de Mons, terre mediocrement basse, soubs la hauteur de 42. degrez 3. quarts de latitude ;[1] & fismes ce iour deux lieues de coste sablonneuse ; & passant le long d'icelle, nous y vismes quātité de cabannes & iardinages. Le vent nous estans contraire, nous entrasmes dedans vn petit cu de sac,[2] pour attendre le temps propre à faire nostre routte. Il vint à nous 2. ou 3. canaux, qui venoient de la pesche de moruë, & autres poissons, qui sont là en

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CHAPTER VIII

Continuation of the exploration of the coast of the Almouchiquois, and what of note we there observed.

THE next day we doubled cape St. Louis, so named by the Sieur de Monts, a moderately low shore in latitude 42° 45′.[1] That day we made two leagues along a sandy coast, and saw as we passed a number of wigwams and gardens. The wind coming ahead we entered a little bay [2] to await suitable weather for continuing our route. Two or three canoes approached us on their way back from fishing for cod and other fish, which are plentiful thereabouts.

[1] Brant Point lies in latitude 42° 5′, showing a considerable error in Champlain's determination. The description is accurate. The expression, "doubled cape St. Louis," would imply that they spent the night on the north side of it.

[2] This, as shown by the accompanying maps, was the bay in front of Plymouth harbour. See Plate LXXIV, p. 346, and the map on p. 347.

quātité, qu'ils peschēt auec des aims [a] faits d'vn morceau de bois, auquel ils fichent vn os qu'ils forment en façon de harpon, & lient fort proprement, de peur qu'il ne sorte : le tout estant en forme d'vn petit crochet : la corde qui y est attachee est d'escorce d'arbre. Ils m'en donnerent vn, que ie prins par curiosité, où l'os estoit attaché de chanure, à mō opiniō, cōme celuy de France, & me dirēt qu'ils en cueilloient l'herbe dans leur terre sans la cultiuer, en nous monstrant la hauteur cōme de 4. a 5. pieds.[1] Led. canau s'en retourna à terre auertir ceux de son habitation, qui nous firēt des fumees, & p. 79. apperçeusmes 18. ou 20. sauuages, qui vindrent sur le bort de la coste, & se mirent à danser. Nostre canau fut à terre pour leur dōner quelques bagatelles, dont ils furent fort contens. Il en vint aucuns deuers nous qui nous prierent d'aller en leur riuiere. Nous leuasmes l'ancre pour ce faire, mais nous n'y

[a] Hains, hameçons.

These they catch with hooks made of a piece of wood, to which they attach a bone shaped like a harpoon, which they fasten very securely for fear lest it come out. The whole thing has the form of a little crook. The line which is attached to it is made of tree-bark. They gave me one of them, which I took as a curiosity. In this the bone was attached with hemp, which in my opinion is like that of France. They informed me that they gathered this plant in their country without cultivating it, indicating its height as about four to five feet.[1] The said canoe returned to shore to notify the people in the settlement, who made signal-smokes for us ; and we perceived eighteen or twenty Indians who came down to the beach and began to dance. Our canoe went ashore to give them some trifles, with which they were much pleased. Some of them came out to beg us to enter their river. We raised anchor to do

[1] Undoubtedly the Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum* Linn.), known to have been used by the Indians for such purposes. Slafter quotes an early writer who makes it an *Asclepias*, but there is ample evidence that the former was the real Indian hemp.

peusmes entrer à cause du peu d'eau que nous y trouuasmes estans de basse mer,[1] & fusmes contraincts de mouiller l'ancre à l'entree d'icelle.[2] Ie descendis à terre, où i'en vis quantité d'autres qui nous reçeurent fort gratieusement : & fus recognoistre la riuiere, où n'y vey autre chose qu'vn bras d'eau qui s'estant quelque peu dans les terres, qui sont en partie desertees ; dedans lequel il n'y a qu'vn ruisseau qui ne peut porter basteaux, sinon de pleine mer.[3] Ce lieu peut auoir vne lieue de circuit. En l'vne des entrees duquel y a vne

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so, but were unable to get in because the tide was out and the water too shallow;[1] and were obliged to anchor at the entrance.[2] I went on shore, where I saw many more Indians, who received us very kindly. I went to explore the river, but saw only an arm of the sea which extends some little distance into the country, which is partially cleared. Here it becomes only a brook, which cannot float boats except at high tide.[3] The bay is about a league in circumference. On one side of the entrance is a kind of

[1] The vessel was evidently first anchored at the place marked A on Plate LXXIV, p. 346. Comparing the depths about this anchorage with those of our modern charts, one finds Champlain's much greater. In a paper by Mr. Henry Mitchell, an officer of the United States Coast Survey, in the *Report of the Survey* for 1876 (p. 143), the conclusion is reached that these differences represent a real change since Champlain's day—great quantities of sand having in the interval been carried into this bay. He also points out that Champlain missed the ship-channel north of Browns Bank, and hence formed a lower estimate of this port than it deserved, though Mr. Mitchell's own estimate of Champlain's map is much lower than seems fair when all the circumstances are considered.

[2] As Champlain's map seems to indicate, they ran their pinnace aground at the letter G, evidently on the shoal now called Browns Bank. Their landing was then made on the north end of Long Beach, from one of the elevated dunes of which Champlain apparently sketched his map. His inspection of the inner harbour must have been made from this beach.

[3] Evidently Eel River, to which his description applies. In the notes to his map I have explained why he drew this brook so large when he knew it to be so small.

maniere d'icelle [a] [1] couuerte de bois, & principalemēt de pins, qui tiēt d'vn costé à des dunes de sable, qui sōt assez longues : l'autre costé est vne terre assez haute. Il y a deux islets dans lad. baye, qu'on ne voit point si l'on n'est dedans, où autour la mer asseche presque toute de basse mer.[2] Ce lieu est fort remarquable de la mer ; d'autant que la coste est fort basse, horsmis le cap de l'entree de la baye, qu'auons nommé, le port du cap sainct Louys,[3] distant dud. cap deux p. 80. lieues, & dix du cap aux isles. Il est enuiron par la hauteur du cap S. Louys.[4] [PLANCHE : PORT ST. LOUIS.]

Le 19. du mois nous partismes de ce lieu. Rengeāt la coste p. 81. comme au su, nous fismes 4. a 5. lieues, & passames proche

[a] *Sic*, pour *isle*.

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island [1] covered with trees, especially pines, and it adjoins some sand-dunes which are fairly extensive : on the other side the land is rather high. Within the said bay are two islets, which cannot be seen unless one is inside, and round about them the sea recedes almost completely at low tide.[2] This place is very conspicuous from the sea, inasmuch as the coast is very low except the cape at the entrance to this bay, which we named Cape St. Louis harbour.[3] It is distant from the said cape two leagues, and from Island Cape ten. It lies in approximately the same latitude as cape St. Louis.[4]

[PLATE LXXIV.]

On the nineteenth of the month we set out from this place. Coasting towards the south we made four to five leagues, and passed close to a rock which lies on a level with

[1] The Gurnet.

[2] Clarks Island and Saquish Head—the latter shown without Saquish Neck, the beach connecting it with the Gurnet. This is the view taken by the earliest commentator upon Champlain's visit to Plymouth, viz. Young in his *Chronicles* 1846, 64, and by Mitchell in his study of Champlain's map noted on the preceding page. Slafter (*op. cit.*, ii. 78) later came into agreement with others who have studied the subject. See vol. i. of his *Champlain*, 206, which was published later than his second volume.

[3] Plymouth harbour.

[4] Plymouth lies in latitude 42°, and Brant Point in 42° 10′.

d'vn rocher qui est à fleur d'eau.[1] Continuāt nostre route nous apperçeusmes des terres que iugions estre isles, mais en estans plus prés nous recogneusmes que c'estoit terre ferme, qui nous demeuroit au nort nordouest, qui estoit le cap d'vne grāde baye contenāt plus de 18. à 19. lieues de circuit, où nous nous engouffrasmes tellement, qu'il nous falut mettre à l'autre bort pour doubler le cap qu'auions veu, lequel nous nommasmes le cap blanc ;[2] pour ce que c'estoient sables &

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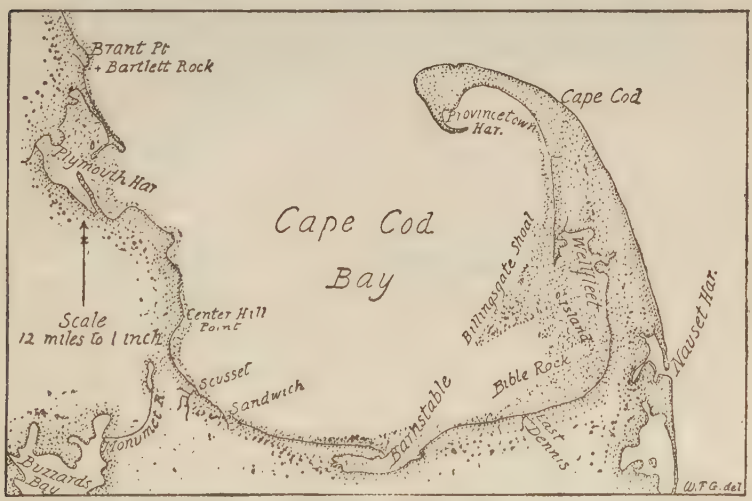
the surface of the water.[1] Continuing our route, we caught sight of some land which we took to be islands, but when nearer perceived that it was mainland, which continued to the north-north-west of us, and that it was the cape of a large bay more than eighteen to nineteen leagues in circumference. We had run so far into this bay that we had to stand on the other tack to double the cape we had seen, which we named the White Cape,[2] because there were sands and dunes which

[1] Near Scusset was formerly a great rock, now covered with sand, which was probably the rock in question.

[2] Cape Cod, so named by Gosnold in 1602, though Champlain knew



nothing of this. Champlain's name is strikingly descriptive. The bay into which they had unwittingly run was Cape Cod Bay, shown upon

dunes, qui paroissent ainsi. Le bon vent nous seruit beaucoup en ce lieu : car autrement nous eussions esté en danger d'estre iettés à la coste. Ceste baye est fort seine, pourueu qu'on n'approche la terre que d'vne bonne lieue, n'y ayāt aucunes isles ny rochers que celuy dont i'ay parlé, qui est proche d'vne riuiere, qui entre assez auant dans les terres, que nommasmes saincte suzanne du cap blanc,[1] d'où iusques au cap S. Louis[2] y a dix lieues de trauerse. Le cap blanc[3] est vne pointe de sable qui va en tournoyant vers le su quelque six lieues. Ceste coste est assez haute esleuee de sables, qui sont fort remarquables venant de la mer, où on trouue la sonde à prés de 15. ou 18. lieues de la terre à 30. 40. 50. p. 82. brasses d'eau iusques à ce qu'on vienne à 10. brasses en approchant de la terre, qui est tres seine. Il y a vne grande estenduë de pays descouuert sur le bort de la coste deuant

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presented this appearance. The favourable wind was of great service here; for otherwise we should have been in danger of being driven upon the coast. This bay is very clear, provided one does not approach the shore nearer than a good league, there being no islands or rocks except the one I have mentioned, which is near a river that extends some distance inland and which we named Ste. Suzanne of the White Cape.[1] From here to cape St. Louis[2] the distance is ten leagues. The White Cape[3] is a point of sand which bends southward some six leagues. This coast has fairly high sand-banks which are very conspicuous from the sea, where soundings are found of thirty, forty and fifty fathoms nearly fifteen or eighteen leagues from land, until one comes to ten fathoms in approaching the shore, which is very clear. There is a great extent of open country along the shore before one enters the woods, which are very

all Champlain's maps as *baye blanche*, or "White Bay," obviously by extension of the name from the cape.

[1] This river has been identified both by Laverdière and Slafter with Wellfleet, near Cape Cod, but Champlain appears to have meant the valley of the Monumet River, now followed by the Cape Cod Canal. See Plate LXXXI. [2] Brant Point. [3] Cape Cod.

que d'entrer dãs les bois, qui sont fort aggreables & plaisãs à voir. Nous mouillasmes l'ãcre à la coste, & vismes quelques sauuages, vers lesquels furent quatre de nos gens, qui cheminant sur vne dune de sable, aduiserent comme vne baye[1] & des cabannes qui la bordoient tout à l'entour. Estãs enuiron vne lieue & demye de nous, il vint à eux tout dansant (à ce qu'ils nous ont raporté) vn sauuage qui estoit descendu de la haute coste, lequel s'en retourna peu aprés donner aduis de nostre venuë à ceux de son habitation.

Le lendemain 20. du mois fusmes en ce lieu que nos gens auoient aperçeu, que trouuasmes estre vn port fort dangereux, à cause des basses & bancs, où nous voiyons briser de toutes parts. Il estoit presque de basse mer lors que nous y entrasmes, & n'y auoit que quatre pieds d'eau par la passee du nort ; de haute mer il y a deux brasses. Comme nous fusmes dedãs nous vismes ce lieu assez spatieux, pouuãt cõtenir 3. à

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delightful and pleasant to the eye. We cast anchor off shore and saw some Indians, towards whom four of our party advanced. Making their way along the sandy beach, they perceived as it were a bay[1] with wigwams bordering it all around. When they were about a league and a half from us an Indian came towards them dancing all over (as they reported to us). He had come down from the high shore, but returned shortly after to give notice of our arrival to those in his settlement.

The next day, the twentieth of the month, we went to the place which our men had discovered, and found it to be a very dangerous port on account of the shoals and sandbanks, where we saw breakers on every side. It was almost low tide when we entered, and there were only four feet of water in the north passage ; at high tide there are two fathoms. When we were inside, we saw that this place was rather large, being about three to four leagues in circum-

[1] Nauset harbour.

4. lieues de circuit, tout entouré de maisonnettes, à l'entour desquelles chacun a autant de terre qu'il lùy est necessaire pour sa nourriture. Il y descend vne petite riuiere, qui est p. 83. assez belle, où de basse mer y a quelque trois pieds & demy d'eau. Il y a deux ou trois ruisseaux bordez de prairies. Ce lieu est tresbeau, si le haure estoit bon. I'en prins la hauteur, & trouué 42. degrez de latitude & 18. degrez 40. minutes de declinaison [1] de la guide-aymāt. Il vint à nous quantité de sauuages, tant hommes que femmes, qui accouroiēt de toutes parts en dansant. Nous auons nommé ce lieu le port de Mallebarre.[2]

Le lendemain 21. du mois le sieur de Mons prit resolutiō

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ference, with all around it little houses about which each owner had as much land as was necessary for his support. A little river enters it which is very pretty ; at low tide it has some three and a half feet of water. There are also two or three brooks bordered with meadows. The place would be very fine if only the harbour were good. I took an observation, and found the latitude 42°; and the magnetic variation 18° 40′.[1] There came to us from all sides, dancing, a number of Indians, both men and women. We named this place Mallebarre harbour.[2]

On the next day, the twenty-first of the month, the Sieur

[1] Latitude 41° 48′. In 1900 the magnetic variation was 13° 35′ west.

[2] Nauset harbour. *Mallebarre* means simply "bad bar." The name has not persisted, though found in 1774 on the fine chart of Des Barres, applied, however, to the long beach of Monomoy farther south. The place has undergone great changes since Champlain's day, especially through the inward movement of the great bounding beaches from the erosion of the glacial uplands. See Plate LXXV, p. 358 *infra*.

The "little" river must have been either the G or E of his map ; but the depth accords better with Salt Pond, and moreover his E seems needed as one of his "brooks bordered with meadows," which are absent from the Salt Pond stream.

The local nomenclature on my map of Nauset harbour has been supplied largely by Mr. E. Higgins of Eastham, Mass., whose kind aid I wish thankfully to acknowledge.

d'aller voir leur habitatiō, & l'accōpaignasmes neuf ou dix auec nos armes : le reste demeura pour garder la barque. Nous fismes enuirō vne lieue le lōg de la coste. Deuant que d'arriuer à leurs cabannes, nous entrasmes dās vn chāp semé de bled d'Inde à la façon que nous auōs dit cy dessus. Le bled estoit en fleur de la hauteur de 5. pieds & demy. Il y en auoit d'autre moins auancé qu'ils sement plus tart. Nous vismes force febues du Bresil, & force citrouilles de plusieurs grosseurs, bōnes à manger, du petū & des racines, qu'ils cultiuent, lesquelles ont le goust d'artichaut.[a] Les bois sont rēplis de chesnes, noyers & de tresbeaux cyprés, qui sont rougeastres, & ont fort bonne odeur.[1] Il y auoit aussi
p. 84. plusieurs champs qui n'estoient point cultiuez : d'autant

[a] D'autres exemplaires portent : "*fort bonnes à manger, & du petū en quātité, qu'ils cultivent, lequel a le goust d'artichaut.*"

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de Monts resolved to go and inspect their settlement, and nine or ten of us accompanied him with our arms ; the remainder stayed behind to guard the pinnace. We went about a league along shore. Before reaching their wigwams we entered a field planted with Indian corn in the manner I have already described. The corn was in flower, and some five and a half feet in height. There was some less advanced, which they sow later. We saw an abundance of Brazilian beans, many edible squashes of various sizes, tobacco, and roots which they cultivate, the latter having the taste of artichoke. The woods are full of oaks, nut-trees, and very fine cypresses, which are of reddish colour and have a very pleasant smell.[1] There were also several fields not cultivated, for the reason

[1] Regarding the Brazilian beans and the squashes, *cf.* p. 328, note 1. The tobacco was that now called wild tobacco, *Nicotiana rustica* Linn., which still occurs in old fields and is described in our latest books as "a relic of cultivation by the Indians." The roots tasting like artichokes were the Jerusalem artichoke, *Helianthus tuberosus* Linn., a native plant. The cypresses are certainly the Red Cedars, *Juniperus virginiana* Linn., common hereabouts.

qu'ils laissent reposer les terres. Quand ils y veulent semer, ils mettent le feu dans les herbes, & puis labourent auec leurs beches de bois. Leurs cabannes sont rondes, couuertes de grosses nattes, faictes de roseaux, & par enhaut il y a au milieu enuiron vn pied & demy de descouuert, par où sort la fumee du feu qu'ils y font. Nous leur demandasmes s'ils auoient leur demeure arrestee en ce lieu, & s'il y negeoit beaucoup ; ce que ne peusmes bien sçauoir, pour ne pas entendre leur langage, bien qu'ils s'y efforçassent par signe, en prenant du sable en leur main, puis l'espandant sur la terre, & monstrant estre de la couleur de nos rabats, & qu'elle venoit sur la terre de la hauteur d'vn pied : & d'autres nous monstroient moins, nous donnant aussi à entendre que le port ne geloit iamais : mais nous ne peusmes sçauoir si la nege estoit de lōgue duree. Ie tiens neātmoins que le pays est temperé, & que l'yuer n'y est pas rude. Pendāt le temps

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that the Indians let them lie fallow. When they wish to plant them they set fire to the weeds and then dig up the field with their wooden spades. Their wigwams are round, and covered with heavy thatch made of reeds. In the middle of the roof is an opening, about a foot and a half wide, through which issues the smoke of their fire. We asked them if they had their permanent residence in this place, and whether there was much snow; but we could not find this out very well since we did not understand their language, although they attempted to explain by signs, taking up sand in their hand, then spreading it on the ground, and indicating that the snow was the same colour as our collars, and fell to the depth of a foot. Others indicated that it was less, giving us also to understand that the harbour never froze over ; but we were unable to ascertain whether the snow lasted a long time. I consider, however, that this country is temperate and the winter not severe. During the time we were there it blew

que nous y fusmes, il fit vne tourmēte de vent de nordest, qui dura 4. iours, auec le tēps si couuert que le soleil n'aparoissoit presque point. Il y faisoit fort froid : ce qui nous fit prendre nos cappots, que nous auions delaissez du tout : neantmoins ie croy que c'estoit par accident, comme l'on void souuent
p. 85. arriuer en d'autres lieux hors de saison.

Le 23. dud. mois de Iuillet, quatre ou cinq mariniers estans allés à terre auec quelques chaudieres, pour querir de l'eau douce, qui estoit dedans des dunes de sable, vn peu esloignee de nostre barque, quelques sauuages desirans en auoir aucunes, espierent l'heure que nos gens y alloyent, & en prirent vne de force entre les mains d'vn matelot, qui auoit puisé le premier, lequel n'auoit nulles armes : Vn de ses compagnons voulant courir aprés, s'en reuint tout court, pour ne l'auoir peu atteindre, d'autant qu'il estoit plus viste à la cource que luy. Les autres sauuages voyans que nos matelos accouroient à nostre barque en nous criant que nous

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a gale from the north-east which lasted four days, with the sky so overcast that the sun was hardly visible at all. It was very cold, so that we were obliged to put on our greatcoats which we had entirely laid aside. However, I believe this was exceptional, just as often happens in other localities out of season.

On the twenty-third of the said month of July, four or five sailors having gone ashore with some large kettles to fetch fresh water from among the sand-hills at a distance from our pinnace, certain Indians, being desirous to possess some of these kettles, watched for the time when our men went there, and snatched one by force out of the hands of a sailor who had filled his the first and who had no weapons. One of his companions, starting to run after the Indian, quickly returned, being unable to catch him, inasmuch as the latter was a swifter runner than himself. The other Indians, when they saw our sailors running towards our pinnace and shouting to

tirassions quelques coups de mousquets sur eux, qui estoient en grand nombre, ils se mirēt à fuir. Pour lors y en auoit quelques vns dans nostre barque, qui se ietterent à la mer, & n'en peusmes saisir qu'vn. Ceux en terre qui s'en estoiēt fuis les apperceuāt nager, retournerent droit au matelot à qui ils auoient osté la chaudiere, & luy tirerēt plusieurs coups de fleches par derriere & l'abbatirent, ce que voyant ils coururent aussitost sur luy & l'acheuerent à coups de cousteau. Cependant on fit diligence d'aller à terre, & tira on des coups d'arquebuse de nostre barque, dont la mienne creua entre p. 86. mes mains & me pença perdre. Les sauuages oyans ceste escopeterie se remirēt à la fuite, qu'ils doublerent quād ils virent que nous estions à terre : d'autāt qu'ils auoiēt peur nous voyās courir aprés eux. Il n'y auoit point d'apparence de les attraper : car ils sont vistes cōme des cheuaux. L'on apporta le mort qui fut enterré quelques heures aprés :[1]

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us to discharge some musket-shots at the Indians who were in considerable numbers, took to flight. At that time there were a few Indians on board our pinnace who threw themselves into the sea, and we were able to seize only one of them. Those on shore who had taken to flight, seeing the others swimming, turned back straight to the sailor from whom they had taken the kettle and shot several arrows at him from behind and brought him down. Perceiving his condition, they at once rushed upon him and despatched him with their knives. Meantime we made haste to go on shore, and fired muskets from our pinnace. Mine exploded in my hands and nearly killed me. The Indians, hearing this fusillade, again took to flight, and redoubled their speed when they saw that we had landed, being frightened on seeing us run after them. There was no likelihood of catching them; for they are as swift-footed as horses. The dead man was brought in, and some hours later was buried.[1] Mean-

[1] Lescarbot adds that the sailor was a carpenter from St. Malo, and that the men on the pinnace had their muskets levelled to kill some of the

Cependāt nous teniōs tousiours le prisonnier attaché par les pieds & par les mains au bort de nostre barque, creignant qu'il ne s'enfuist. Le sieur de Mons se resolut de le laisser aller, se persuadant qu'il n'y auoit point de sa faute, & qu'il ne sçauoit rien de ce qui s'estoit passé, ny mesme ceux qui estoient pour lors dedās & autour de nostre barque. Quelques heures aprés il vint des sauuages vers nous, faisāt des excuses par signes & demonstrations, que ce n'estoit pas eux qui auoient fait ceste meschāceté, mais d'autres plus esloignez dans les terres. On ne leur voulut point faire de mal, bien qu'il fut en nostre puissance de nous venger.

Tous ces sauuages depuis le cap des isles[1] ne portent point de robbes, ny de fourrures, que fort rarement, encore les robbes sont faites d'herbes & de chanure, qui à peine leur couurēt le corps, & leur vont iusques aux iarrests. Ils ont

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while we kept our prisoner bound hand and foot on board our pinnace, fearing lest he should escape. The Sieur de Monts determined to let him go, feeling persuaded he was not to blame and knew nothing of what had occurred, as was the case also with those who were at the time on board and alongside our pinnace. A few hours later some Indians came towards us, making excuses by signs and outward show that it was not they who had done this evil deed but others farther off in the interior. We were unwilling to do them harm, although it was in our power to avenge ourselves.

All these Indians from Island Cape[1] onwards wear no skins nor furs, except very rarely; but their clothes are made from grasses and hemp, and barely cover their bodies, and come down only to the thighs. But the men have their privy

Indians within range, but were ordered by Monts to desist, since the murderers had already made off (*Histoire*, ii. 277). These kettles were the articles above all others which the Indians most desired from the French (see Denys' *Description*, 441).

[1] Cape Ann. *Vide* p. 334 *supra*.

seulement la nature cachee d'vne petite peau, & les femmes p. 87.
aussi, qui leur descēdent vn peu plus bas qu'aux hommes par derriere ; tout le reste du corps est nud. Lors que les femmes nous venoient voir, elles prenoient des robbes ouuertes par le deuāt. Les hōmes se coupent le poil dessus la teste cōme ceux de la riuiere de Chouacoet.[1] Ie vey entre autres choses vne fille coiffee assez proprement, d'vne peau teinte de couleur rouge, brodee par dessus de petites patenostres de porceline : vne partie de ses cheueux estoiēt pendās par derriere, & le reste entrelassé de diuerses façons. Ces peuples se peindent le visage de rouge, noir, & iaune. Ils n'ont presque point de barbe, & se l'arrachent à mesure qu'elle croist. Ils sont bien proportionnez de leurs corps. Ie ne sçay quelle loy ils tiēnent, & croy qu'en cela ils ressemblent à leurs voisins, qui n'en ont point du tout. Ils ne sçauent qu'adorer n'y prier. Ils ont bien quelques superstitions comme les autres, que ie descriray en leur

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parts concealed by a small skin. It is the same also with the women, who wear it a little lower behind than the men ; all the rest of the body is naked. When the women came to see us they wore skins open in front. The men cut off the hair on top of their heads like those at Saco river.[1] I saw, among other things, a girl with her hair quite neatly done up by means of a skin dyed red, and trimmed on the upper part with little shell beads. Some of her hair hung down behind, while the rest was braided in various ways. These people paint their faces red, black, and yellow. They have almost no beard, and pull it out as fast as it grows. Their bodies are well-proportioned. I do not know what government they have, but believe that in this they resemble their neighbours, who have none at all. They do not know what it is to worship or pray. They have indeed sundry superstitions, like the other Indians, and these I shall describe in

[1] Upon the dress of these Indians, *cf.* p. 326, note 1.

lieu.[1] Pour armes, ils n'ont que des picques, massues, arcs & fleches. Il semble à les voir qu'ils soient de bon naturel, & meilleurs que ceux du nort : mais tous à bien parler ne vallent pas grande chose. Si peu de frequentation que l'on ait auec eux, les fait incontinent cognoistre. Ils sont grands larrons ;
p. 88. & s'ils ne peuuent attraper auec les mains, ils y taschent auec les pieds, comme nous l'auons esprouué souuentefois. I'estime que s'ils auoient dequoy eschanger auec nous, qu'ils ne s'adōneroiēt au larrecin.[2] Ils nous trocquerēt leurs arcs, fleches & carquois, pour des espingles & des boutōs, & s'ils eussent eu autre chose de meilleur ils en eussent fait autāt. Il se faut donner garde de ces peuples, & viure en mesfiance auec eux, toutefois sans leur faire apperçeuoir. Ils nous donnerent quantité de petum, qu'ils font secher, & puis le reduisent en poudre. Quand ils mangēt le bled d'Inde ils le font bouillir dedans des pots de terre

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their place.[1] For weapons they have only spears, clubs, bows, and arrows. In appearance they seem to be of good disposition, and better than those to the northward ; but the whole of them, to tell the truth, are not worth much. The slightest intercourse with them at once discloses their character. They are great thieves, and if they cannot lay hold of a thing with their hands, try to do so with their feet, as we have repeatedly learned by experience. I fancy that, had they anything to barter, they would not resort to thievery.[2] They bartered their bows, arrows, and quivers for pins and buttons ; and had they possessed anything better, would have done the same with it. One must be on one's guard against these people and mistrust them, yet without allowing them to perceive it. They gave us a quantity of tobacco, which they dry and then reduce to powder. When they eat Indian corn they boil it in

[1] But he did not.

[2] Lescarbot also speaks of their thievish disposition (*Histoire*, ii. 326–7).

qu'ils font d'autre maniere que nous. Ils le pilent aussi dans des mortiers de bois & le reduisent en farine, puis en font des gasteaux & galettes, comme les Indiens du Perou.[1] [PLANCHE : MALLE BARRE.] p. 89.

En ce lieu, & en toute la coste, depuis Quinibequi, il y a p. 90. quantité de siguenocs,[2] qui est vn poisson portant vne escaille sur le dos, comme la tortue : mais diferente pourtant ; laquelle a au milieu vne rangee de petits piquãts de couleur de fueille morte, ainsi que le reste du poisson : Au bout de laquelle escaille il y en a vne autre plus petite, qui est bordee d'esguillons fort piquans. La queue est longue selon qu'ils sont grands ou petits du bout de laquelle ces peuples ferrent leurs fleches, ayant aussi vne rangee d'esguillons cõme la

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earthen pots, which they make in a different way from ours. They crush it also in wooden mortars, and reduce it to flour, and then make cakes and biscuits of it as do the Indians of Peru.[1] [PLATE LXXV.]

In this place, and all along the coast from Kennebec, are a great many *siguenocs*,[2] which is a fish with a shell on its back like the tortoise, yet different ; for it has along the median line a row of little prickles coloured like a dead leaf, as is the rest of this fish. At the end of this shell is another, which is smaller and bordered by very sharp points. The length of the tail varies according as the fish is large or small, and with the end of it these people tip their arrows. It has also a row of points like those on the large shell. In the latter are the

[1] Laverdière (iii. 70) gives notes upon the use of tobacco and the construction of earthenware vessels by the Canadian Indians, in illustration of the similar general methods here mentioned by Champlain.

[2] The horseshoe or king crab (*Limulus polyphemus* (Linn.) Latreille), abundant along this coast and well described in this paragraph. Our author gives a fair though somewhat conventionalised portrait of one upon his map of 1612, and, on a smaller scale, upon that of 1632. *Siguenoc* is its Indian name. The length of Champlain's description attests the interest taken by the early voyagers in animals which they had not known in Europe. De Laet's description and figure, mentioned both by Laverdière and Slafter, were taken from Champlain.

grãde escaille sur laquelle sont les yeux. Il a huict petits pieds comme ceux d'vn cancre, & derriere deux plus longs & plats, desquels il se sert à nager. Il en a aussi deux autres fort petits deuant, auec quoy il mange : quand il chemine ils sont tous cachez, excepté les deux de derriere qui paroissent vn peu. Soubs la petite escaille il y a des membranes qui s'enflent, & ont vn battement comme la gorge des grenouilles, & sõt les vnes sur les autres en façon des tacettes d'vn pourpoint. Le plus grãd que i'aye veu, a vn pied de large, & pied & demy de long.

Nous vismes aussi vn oiseau marin[1] qui a le bec noir, le haut vn peu aquilin, & lõg de quatre poulces, fait en forme de lãcette, sçauoir la partie inferieure representant le manche
p. 91. & la superieure la lame qui est tenue, trenchante des deux costez & plus courte d'vn tiers que l'autre, qui donne de

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eyes. It has eight small feet, like those of a crab, and at the back two more which are longer and flat, of which it makes use in swimming. It has also two more very small ones in front, with which it eats. When it walks, these are all hidden except the two hindermost, which show a little. Under the smaller shell are membranes which swell up and have a pulsation like the throat of a frog, and lie one over the other after the manner of the folds of a doublet. The largest I saw was a foot in breadth and a foot and a half long.

We saw also a sea-bird[1] with a black beak somewhat aquiline at the top, and four inches long, shaped like a lancet, that is to say, with the lower part representing the handle and the upper the blade, which latter is thin, sharp on both sides, and shorter by a third than the other. This arrangement

[1] The black skimmer, or scissor-bill (*Rhynchops nigra* Linn.), found abundantly along the coasts of the southern states, but occurring occasionally upon the coast of Massachusetts. Champlain's description is correct; but his comparison of the bill with a lancet must involve an older form of that instrument having a folding-handle somewhat like our modern razor. The use made of the longer lower bill in taking food from the water is described in all modern works on ornithology.

l'estonnement à beaucoup de personnes, qui ne peuuent comprendre comme il est possible que cet oiseau puisse manger auec vn tel bec. Il est de la grosseur d'vn pigeon, les aisles fort longues à proportiō du corps, la queue courte & les iambes aussi, qui sōt rouges, les pieds petits & plats : Le plumage par dessus est gris brun, & par dessous fort blanc. Il va tousiours en troupe sur le riuage de la mer, comme font les pigeons pardeça.

Les sauuages en toutes ces costes où nous auons esté, disent qu'il vient d'autres oiseaux quand leur bled est à maturité, qui sont fort gros ; & nous cōtrefaisoient leur chant semblable à celuy du cocq d'Inde. Ils nous en montrerent des plumes en plusieurs lieux; dequoy ils empannent leurs fleches & en mettent sur leurs testes pour parade ; & aussi vne maniere de poil qu'ils ont soubs la gorge, comme ceux qu'auons en France : & disent qu'ils leur tumbe vne creste rouge sur le bec. Ils nous les figurerent aussi gros qu'vne outarde, qui est vne espece d'oye ;[1] ayant le col plus long

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astonishes many people, who cannot understand how it is possible for this bird to eat with such a beak. It is as large as a pigeon, the wings being very long in proportion to the body, the tail short as are likewise the legs, which are red, the feet being small and flat. The plumage is grey-brown above, and very white underneath. They go always in flocks along the seashore, as do the pigeons on our side.

The Indians along all these coasts which we have visited, say that other birds, which are very large, come when their corn is ripe ; and they imitated for us their cry, like that of the turkey. In several places they showed us their feathers, with which they feather their arrows, and which they place upon their heads as a decoration. They showed us also a kind of hair which these birds have under the throat, like those we have in France ; and they declare that a red crest falls over upon their beak. They represented them to us as being as large as a bustard, which is a species of goose[1] having the neck longer

[1] The Canada goose (*cf.* p. 331, note 2).

& deux fois plus gros que celles de pardeça. Toutes ces demonstrations nous firent iuger que c'estoient cocqs d'Inde.[1]
p. 92. Nous eussions bien desiré voir de ces oiseaux, aussi bien que de la plume, pour plus grāde certitude. Auparauant que i'eusse veu les plumes & le petit boquet de poil qu'ils ont soubs la gorge; & que i'eusse oy cōtrefaire leur chāt, ie croiyois que ce fussēt de certains oiseaux, qui se trouuēt en quelques endroits du Perou en forme de cocqs d'Inde, le lōg du riuage de la mer, māgeās les charōgnes & autres choses mortes, comme font les corbeaux : mais ils ne sont pas si gros, & n'ōt pas la barbe si longue, ny le chāt semblable aux vrais coqs d'Inde, & ne sont pas bons à māger cōme sont ceux que les sauuages disent qui viennent en troupe en esté; & au commencement de l'yuer s'en vont aux pays plus chauts, où est leur demeure naturelle.[1]

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and twice as large as those we have. All these indications led us to conclude that they were turkeys.[1] We should have liked very much to see some of these birds, as well as their feathers, for greater certainty. Before I had seen the feathers and the little tuft of hair they have under the throat, and before I had heard their cry imitated, I thought they were certain birds like turkeys which are found in some parts of Peru, where they live along the sea-coast, eating carrion and other dead things as do the ravens. But those are not so large, nor have they the tuft of hair so long nor a cry like the true turkeys; and they are not good to eat, as are these, which, the Indians say, come in flocks in the summer, and at the beginning of winter go off to warmer countries which are their natural dwelling-places.[1]

[1] Wild turkeys (*Meleagris gallopavo* Linn.), which are native to North America, and were formerly abundant in New England. A number of references to this valuable game bird are quoted by Slafter (*Champlain's Voyages*, ii. 88). The birds with which Champlain thought first to identify them were presumably the turkey buzzards (*Cathartes aura* Linn.), which have the characteristics here described, though apparently they are not native to Peru.

Retour des descouuertures de la coste des Almouchiquois.

CHAP. IX.

AYANT demeuré plus de cinq sepmaines à esleuer trois degrez de latitude, nous ne peusmes estre plus de six sepmaines en nostre voyage ; car nous n'auions porté des viures que pour ce tẽps là. Et aussi ne pouuãs passer à cause des brumes & tempestes que iusques à Mallebarre, où fusmes quelques iours attendans le temps propre pour sortir, & nous voyans pressez par la necessité des viures, p. 93. le sieur de Mons delibera de s'en retourner à l'isle de saincte Croix, afin de trouuer autre lieu plus propre pour nostre habitation : ce que ne peusmes faire en toutes les costes que nous descouurismes en ce voyage.

Et partismes de ce port, pour voir ailleurs, le 25. du mois de Iuillet, où au sortir courusmes risque de nous pardre sur la

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CHAPTER IX

Return from the explorations along the coast of the Almouchiquois.

WE had taken more than five weeks to cover three degrees of latitude, and could not remain more than six weeks on our voyage, as we had carried provisions only for that length of time. And furthermore, being unable, on account of fogs and storms, to proceed beyond Mallebarre, where we remained for several days awaiting weather suitable for setting sail, and finding ourselves pressed by a scarcity of provisions, the Sieur de Monts decided to return to Ste. Croix island, in order to find another spot more suitable for our settlement ; for we had been unable to find such a place on any of the coasts we had explored on this voyage.

And we set out from this port, to search elsewhere, on the twenty-fifth of the month of July. On going out we were

barre qui y est à l'ētree, par la faute de nos pilottes appelez Cramolet & Chāpdoré [1] Maistres de la barque, qui auoient mal ballize l'entree de l'achenal du costé du su, par où nous deuions passer. Ayans euité ce peril nous mismes le cap au nordest six lieues iusques au cap blanc : [2] & de là iusques au cap des isles [3] continuant 15. lieues au mesme vent : puis misme le cap à l'est nordest 16. lieues iusques à Chouacoet, où nous vismes le Capitaine sauuage Marchim, que nous auions esperé voir au lac de Quinibequy,[4] lequel auoit la reputation d'estre l'vn des vaillans hommes de son pays : aussi auoit il la

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nearly lost on the bar at the entrance through the fault of our pilots named Cramolet and Champdoré,[1] masters of our pinnace, who had badly buoyed the entrance of the south channel through which we were to pass. Having escaped this danger we headed north-east six leagues as far as White Cape ; [2] thence fifteen leagues on the same tack to Island Cape.[3] Then we sailed east-north-east sixteen leagues as far as Saco, where we saw the Indian chief Marchin whom we had hoped to see at Kennebec lake.[4] He had the reputation of being one of the mighty men of his country, and he had indeed a fine

[1] His full name, according to Lescarbot's *Muses de la Nouvelle France*, was Pierre Angibaut *dit* Champdoré, and he also accompanied Champlain on his third voyage along this coast, and figures in later events (pp. 378, 382-383, 386, 393). There is some evidence that he made a voyage of his own along the coast of Maine in 1608, though B. F. De Costa's discussion thereof, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April 1891, is inconclusive in its imputation of jealousy on the part of Champlain.

[2] Cape Cod.

[3] Cape Ann. In leaving Nauset harbour the course must have been east of north, perhaps by Champlain's compass actually north-east, until they were well clear of the coast ; then they must have swung to the north and then west of north in order to pass Cape Cod and proceed " on the same tack " to Island Cape.

[4] The place of meeting at Saco is given on Champlain's map on Plate LXXIII, p. 330, where the letter N represents our present Prouts Neck. It was at this time, I take it, that the expedition anchored at M, between Bluff and Stratten Islands. As to the expected meeting at Kennebec, *cf.* p. 319 *supra*.

façon belle, où tous ses gestes paroissoient graues, quelque sauuage qu'il fut.[1] Le sieur de Mons luy fit present de beaucoup de choses, dont il fut fort satisfait, & en recompense donna vn ieune garçon Etechemin, qu'il auoit prins en guerre, que nous emmenasmes auec nous, & partismes de ce lieu en- p. 94.
semblemẽt bons amis ; & mismes le cap au nordest quart de l'est 15. lieues, iusques à Quinibequy, où nous arriuasmes le 29. du mois, & où pensions trouuer vn sauuage appelé Sasinou, dont i'ay parlé cy dessus,[2] que nous attendismes quelque temps, pẽsant qu'il deust venir, afin de retirer de luy vn ieune homme & vne ieune fille Etechemins, qu'il tenoit prisoniers. En l'attẽdant il vint à nous vn capitaine appelé Anassou pour nous voir, lequel traicta quelque peu de pelleterie ; & fismes allience auec luy. Il nous dit qu'il y auoit vn vaisseau à dix

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appearance, all his gestures being dignified, savage though he was.[1] The Sieur de Monts made him many presents, wherewith he was much pleased, and in return gave us a young Etechemin boy whom he had captured in war, and whom we took away with us. We set out from this place together in mutual good friendship. We sailed north-east a quarter east for fifteen leagues, as far as Kennebec, where we arrived on the twenty-ninth of the month. Here we expected to find an Indian named Sasinou, of whom I have previously spoken.[2] Thinking he would come, we waited for him for some time, in order to get from him a young Etechemin man and girl whom he held prisoners. While we were waiting for him a chief named Anassou came to see us, and bartered a few furs ; and we made friends with him. He told us that

[1] The dignified demeanour and impressive appearance presented by the Indian chiefs are mentioned in Father Le Clercq's *New Relation of Gaspesia*, Champlain Society's ed., 240.

[2] *Cf.* p. 319 *supra*. It is possible that they met him later, at the *isle de Sasinou* (doubtless the island now called Petit Manan), as mentioned on p. 282.

lieues du port, qui faisoit pesche de poisson, & que ceux de dedans auoient tué cinq sauuages d'icelle riuiere, soubs ombre d'amitié : & selon la façon qu'il nous despeignoit les gens du vaisseau, nous les iugeasmes estre Anglois, & nōmasmes l'isle où ils estoient la nef : pour ce que de loing elle en auoit le semblance.[1] Voyāt que led. Sasinou ne venoit point nous mismes le cap à l'est suest [2] 20. lieues iusques à l'isle haute où mouillasmes l'ancre attendant le iour.

Le lendemain premier d'Aoust nous le mismes à l'est quelque 20. lieues iusques au cap Corneille [3] où nous passames

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ten leagues from that port there was a ship engaged in the fishery, and that those on board, under cover of friendship, had killed five Indians from this river. From his description of the men on the ship we judged they were English. We named the island where they were, the Ship, because from a distance it had that appearance.[1] Finding that the aforesaid Sasinou did not come, we sailed east-south-east [2] twenty leagues, as far as Isle Haute, where we cast anchor to wait for daylight.

The next day, the first of August, we headed eastward some twenty leagues, as far as Crow Cape,[3] where we passed

[1] This was Monhegan, as its position on Champlain's map of 1612, where it is named *La Nef Isle*, proves. It is somewhat elevated and irregularly shaped, and presumably from some points of view suggests a ship under full sail. See Plate LXXXI in the portfolio.

Laverdière and Slafter give ample evidence to prove that this ship was the *Archangel*, commanded by Captain Waymouth, which had been earlier on the coast, but had departed more than a month previously, though the Indians evidently thought she was still at Monhegan. The five Indians had not been killed, but had been taken captive. An English narrative of Waymouth's voyage, by Rosier, including a full account of the capture of these Indians, has been published (*cf.* Burrage's *Early English and French Voyages*, 378, 394, New York, 1906).

[2] This direction, though incorrect in relation to the true meridian, is approximately the same as Champlain shows upon his map of 1612, which is set to the magnetic meridian. See p. 286 *supra*.

[3] The projecting cape of Great Wass island. Another reference to the place occurs on p. 312 of this volume.

la nuit. Le 2. du mois le mettant au nordest 7. lieues vinsmes à l'ētree de la riuiere S. Croix du costé de l'ouest.[1] Ayant p. 95. mouillé l'ācre entre les deux premieres isles,[2] le sieur de Mōs s'embarqua dans vn canau à six lieues de l'habitation S. Croix, où le lendemain nous arriuasmes auec nostre barque. Nous y trouuasmes le sieur des Antōs de sainct Maslo, qui estoit venu en l'vn des vaisseaux du sieur de Mōs, pour apporter des viures, & autres cōmoditez pour ceux qui deuoient yuerner en ce pays.

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the night. On the second of the month, sailing north-east seven leagues, we came to the western mouth of the Ste. Croix river.[1] Having cast anchor between the two first islands,[2] the Sieur de Monts embarked in a canoe to go up six leagues to the settlement of Ste. Croix, where we arrived the next day with our pinnace. We found there the Sieur des Antons of St. Malo, who had come out in one of the Sieur de Monts' vessels to bring provisions and other supplies for those who were to winter in this country.

[1] The western entrance was that between Campobello and Lubec.

[2] It is hardly possible, in this region of many islands and good ports, to identify these.

L'habitation qui estoit en l'isle de S. Croix transportee au port Royal, & pourquoy.

CHAP. X.

LE sieur de Mons se delibera de changer de lieu & faire vne autre habitation pour esuiter aux froidures & mauuais yuer qu'auiōs eu en l'isle saincte Croix. N'ayant trouué aucun port qui nous fut propre pour lors, & le peu de temps que nous auions à nous loger & bastir des maisōs à cest effect, nous fit équipper deux barques, que l'ō chargea de la charpēterie des maisons de saincte Croix, pour la porter au port Royal, à 25. lieues de là, où l'on iugeoit y estre la demeure beaucoup plus douce & temperee. Le Pont & moy partismes pour y aller ; où estans arriuez cerchasmes
p. 96. vn lieu propre pour la situation de nostre logement & à l'abry du norouest, que nous redoutions pour en auoir esté fort tourmentez.

CHAPTER X

The settlement on Ste. Croix island removed to Port Royal, and the reason.

THE Sieur de Monts decided to remove elsewhere, and to build another settlement to escape the cold and the dreadful winter we had experienced at Ste. Croix island. Having up to that time found no port that appeared to us suitable, and the time being short in which to build houses and to get settled, we fitted out two pinnaces which we loaded with the woodwork of the houses at Ste. Croix, to transport it to Port Royal twenty-five leagues distant, where we judged the climate to be much more agreeable and temperate. Pont-Gravé and I set out for this place, and on reaching it, searched for a suitable site for our residence, with shelter from the north-west wind, which we dreaded on account of having been greatly distressed thereby.

Apres auoir bien cerche d'vn costé & d'autre, nous n'en trouuasmes point de plus propre & mieux scitué qu'en vn lieu qui est vn peu esleué, au tour duquel y a quelques marescages & bonnes sources d'eau. Ce lieu est deuant l'isle qui est à l'entree de la riuiere de la Guille [a]: Et au nord de nous comme à vne lieue, il y a vn costau de montagnes, qui dure prés de dix lieues nordest & surouest. Tout le pays est rempli de forests tres-espoisses ainsi que i'ay dit cy dessus, horsmis vne pointe qui est à vne lieue & demie dans la riuiere, où il y a quelques chesnes qui y sont fort clairs, & quātité de lābruches,[1] que l'on pourroit deserter aisement, & mettre en labourage, neantmoins maigres & sablōneuses. Nous fusmes presque en resolution d'y bastir : mais nous considerasmes qu'eussions esté trop engouffrez dans le port & riuiere : ce qui nous fit changer d'aduis.

[a] Sic pro, *l'Equille.*

Having searched well in all directions, we found no place more suitable and better situated than a somewhat elevated spot, about which are some marshes and good springs. This place is opposite an island which is at the mouth of the Equille river. To the north of us, about a league distant, is a range of mountains, which extends nearly ten leagues north-east and south-west. The entire country is covered with very dense forests, as I have already mentioned, except a point a league and a half up the river, where there are some oaks which are very scattered, and numbers of wild vines.[1] These could easily be cleared and the place brought under cultivation, notwithstanding it is sterile and sandy. We had almost resolved to build there, but considered that we should be too far within the harbour and river, and this made us change our minds.

[1] The site of the town of Annapolis Royal. Here Champlain certainly erred ; for not only is there not the least botanical evidence of the occurrence of vines in Nova Scotia, but Lescarbot, who knew the place well, and was an accurate observer, says definitely that no vines were found at Port Royal (ii. 331). See *supra*, p. 259, Plate LXVII.

Ayant donc recogneu l'assieté de nostre habitation estre bonne,[1] on commença à deffricher le lieu, qui estoit plein d'arbres ; & dresser les maisons au plustost qu'il fut possible : vn chacun si employa. Apres que tout fut mis en ordre, & la pluspart des logemens faits, le sieur de Mons se delibera

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Having seen that the site for our settlement was a good one,[1] we began to clear the ground, which was full of trees, and to erect the houses as quickly as possible. Everybody was busy at this work. After everything had been set in order and the greater part of the dwellings built, the Sieur de Monts

[1] This settlement lay on the north side of Annapolis Basin within the limits of Lower Granville, or Karsdale, as its station is called. The Calnek-Savary *History of the Country of Annapolis* (5, 17) states that the fort, built a few years later by the Scottish colonists, was erected on the same site; and, although no authority is given, this statement seems reasonable. In 1829 Haliburton (*History of Nova Scotia*, ii. 157) stated that "the remains of this Fort may be traced with great ease; the old parade, the embankment and ditch have not been disturbed, and preserve their original form." These have now all been obliterated.

Tradition places the fort upon the very pleasant low ridge occupied by the houses, gardens, and fields of the two farms of John and Jacob Robblee. Local tradition prefers John Robblee's house, due to the fact (Calnek-Savary *History*, 582) that when the cellar was dug, relics were found which seemed to identify the place as the bakehouse H of Champlain's plan; but the evidence is most uncertain and insufficient. On the other hand, Mr. Jacob Robblee, whose house occupies the summit of the ridge, showed me two places, marked on our map, where he had unearthed the stonework of two corners of the apparent foundation of some early building. Their distance apart corresponds pretty closely to the length of the storehouse which formed the eastern side of the fort. This I consider the best evidence we possess as to the site of the fort. (A stonework near the highway and farther west belongs to a modern building.) This situation, in contrast with that farther west, was nearer the water supply drawn from little streams on the east of the fort, and it was the presence of this water which helped in the selection of the site. At all events, one or the other of the two houses must stand in part upon the site. See Plate LXXVI, p. 373.

A remarkable historical blunder occurs in the inscription upon the monument to De Monts erected in 1904 at Annapolis Royal, which states that De Monts there founded "the first settlement of Europeans north of the Gulf of Mexico." Apparently the composer of the inscription was unaware of the larger settlement established a year earlier on Ste. Croix island.

de retourner en France pour faire vers sa Maiesté qu'il peust p. 97.
auoir ce qui seroit de besoin pour sō entreprise. Et pour commander audit lieu en son absence, il auoit volonté d'y laisser le sieur d'Oruille :[1] mais la maladie de terre, dont il estoit atteint, ne luy peut permettre de pouuoir satisfaire au desir dudit sieur de Mons : qui fut occasion d'en parler au Pont-graué, & luy dōner ceste charge ; ce qu'il eut pour aggreable : & fit paracheuer de bastir ce peu qui restoit en l'habitation.[2] Et moy en pareil temps ie pris resolution d'y demeurer aussi, sur l'esperance que i'auois de faire de nouuelles descouuertures vers la Floride : ce que le sieur de Mons trouua fort bon.

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decided to return to France to obtain from His Majesty what was necessary for his enterprise. And as commander of the said place in his absence, he wished to leave the Sieur d'Orville ;[1] but the scurvy with which the latter was afflicted would not permit him to meet the wishes of the Sieur de Monts. For this reason the matter was mentioned to Pont-Gravé, who was offered the position, which he accepted, and had the small unfinished part of the settlement completed.[2] And I myself, at the same time, determined to remain there as well, in the hope of making new discoveries towards Florida ; and of this the Sieur de Monts highly approved.

[1] The companion of Champlain and Champdoré at Ste. Croix island, as recorded on Champlain's picture-plan, Plate LXXI, p. 278 *supra*.

[2] Lescarbot gives praise to Pont-Gravé for the energy and effectiveness with which he discharged his duties (*Histoire*, ii. 281).

Ce qui ce passa depuis le partement du sieur de Mons, iusqu'à ce que voyāt qu'on n'auoit point nouuelles de ce qu'il auoit promis, on partist du port Royal pour retourner en France.

CHAP. XI.

AVSSI tost que ledit sieur de Mons fut party, de 40. ou 45. qui resterent, vne partie commēça à faire des iardins. I'en fis aussi vn pour éuiter oisiueté, entouré de fossez plains d'eau, esquels y auoit de fort belles truites que i'y auois mises, & où descendoient trois ruisseaux de fort belle eaue courāte,dōt la pluspart de nostre habitation se fournissoit.
p. 98. I'y fis vne petite escluse contre le bort de la mer, pour escouler l'eau quand ie voulois. Ce lieu estoit tout enuironné des prairies, où i'accommoday vn cabinet auec de beaux arbres, pour y aller prendre de la fraischeur. I'y fis aussi vn petit reseruoir pour y mettre du poisson d'eau sallee, que nous

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CHAPTER XI

What happened after the Sieur de Monts' departure, until the time when seeing no sign of what he had promised, we set out from Port Royal to return to France.

AS soon as the said Sieur de Monts had departed, some of the forty or forty-five who stayed behind began to make gardens. I also, in order not to remain idle, made one which I surrounded with ditches full of water wherein I placed some very fine trout; and through it flowed three brooks of very clear running water from which the greater part of our settlement was supplied. I constructed in it near the sea-shore a little sluiceway, to draw off the water whenever I desired. This spot was completely surrounded by meadows, and there I arranged a summer-house with fine trees, in order that I might enjoy the fresh air. I constructed there likewise a small reservoir to hold salt-water fish, which we took out

prenions quand nous en auions besoin.[1] I'y semay quelques graines, qui proffiterent bien : & y prenois vn singulier plaisir : mais auparauant il y auoit bien fallu trauailler. Nous y alions souuent passer le temps : & sembloit que les

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as we required them.[1] I also sowed there some seeds which throve well ; and I took therein a particular pleasure, although beforehand it had entailed a great deal of labour. We often resorted there to pass the time, and it seemed as if the little

[1] These gardens lay to the eastward of the settlement, being designated on his map of Port Royal (Plate LXVII, p. 259) by the letter B. His dam I take to be the curved structure just east of this letter B. The identification of these places on the ground is difficult, because of the changes wrought by long cultivation, and by alterations in the coastline which is in process of constant erosion by the sea. Their approximate positions are shown in red upon the modern map on Plate LXXVI. The place is now a rather uniform slope of fields and gardens, of obviously good soil, falling away eastward to low pasture swale. The centre of this swale probably marks the position of the easternmost of the streams of Champlain's map, the one not connected with the gardens, while the westernmost of his streams is, I think, identified by the "low drainage line" marked upon the modern map. The intermediate features were presumably somewhat as shown. There is nothing to fix the position of the dam and salt-water pool, and in all probability they fell well out upon the present beach. Likewise, the site of Champlain's summer-house is unidentifiable, and probably fell outside the present beach line. These marshes, which now come to an end a little beyond the limits of our map, in Champlain's day probably extended to the settlement; for Champlain speaks both of that site and of the gardens as surrounded by marshes (p. 371 *supra*.) Lescarbot's map also represents the marshes as overlapping markedly to the westward of the little stream just east of the settlement.

Champlain's map of Port Royal also shows the little spring-fed brook, locally nameless, which rises behind the settlement and swings around its western side. Upon this little brook Champlain shows other gardens which I suspect were those made by Lescarbot, who, finding the good places upon the southern slope all taken, made his cultivation here. A certain confirmation thereof is found in the fact that Lescarbot was apparently the discoverer of a spring which replaced the brook of Champlain's garden as a water supply for the fort (*Histoire*, ii. 282). This without doubt was the fine spring, marked on our modern map, behind Mr. Jacob Robblee's house—the one from which his family still draw their supply. For the site of Membertou's camp see Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, iii. 227, 274. *Cf.* also his *Relation dernière* in Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, ii. 165.

petits oiseaux d'alentour en eussent du contentement : car ils s'y amassoient en quātité, & y faisoient vn ramage & gasouillis si aggreable, que ie ne pense pas iamais en auoir ouy de semblable.

Le plan de l'habitation estoit de 10. toises de long, & 8. de large, qui font trentesix de circuit. Du costé de l'orient est vn magazin de la largeur d'icelle, & vne fort belle caue de 5. a 6. pieds de haut. Du costé du Nord est le logis du sieur de Mons esleue d'assez belle charpenterie. Au tour de la basse court sont les logemens des ouuriers. A vn coing du costé de l'occident y a vne platte forme, où on mit quatre pieces de canon, & à l'autre coing vers l'orient est vne palissade en façon de platte forme : comme on peut veoir par la figure suiuante.[1]

p. 99. [PLANCHE : ABITASION DU PORT ROYAL.]

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birds thereabouts received pleasure from this; for they gathered in great numbers and warbled and chirped so pleasantly that I do not think I ever heard the like.

The plan of the settlement was ten fathoms in length and eight in breadth, which makes thirty-six in circumference. On the eastern side is a storehouse of the full width, with a very fine cellar some five to six feet high. On the north side is the Sieur de Monts' dwelling, constructed of fairly good wood-work. Around the courtyard are the quarters of the workmen. At one corner on the western side is a platform whereon were placed four pieces of cannon; and at the other corner, towards the east, is a palisade fashioned like a platform, as can be seen from the following picture.[1]

[PLATE LXXVI.]

[1] The two plans, the larger reproduced herewith, and the smaller on Plate LXVII, p. 259, differ a good deal, more probably by the fault of the engraver than of Champlain. On the smaller but not on the larger plan the drainage ditch apparently passes through the garden south-east of the settlement. This ditch appears to have been made the second year at the instance of Lescarbot (ii. 319). It is possible that the outlet of these ditches formed a little ravine in the position shown upon our modern map, which position may form some argument for the site of John Robblee's

Quelques iours aprés que les bastiments furent acheuez, ie fus à la riuiere S. Iean, pour chercher le sauuage appellé Secondon,[1] lequel auoit mené les gens de Preuerd à la mine de cuiure, que i'auois desia esté chercher auec le sieur de Mons, quand nous fusmes au port au[x] mines, & y perdismes nostre temps.[2] L'ayant trouué, ie le priay d'y venir auec nous : ce qu'il m'accorda fort librement : & nous la vint monstrer. Nous y trouuasmes quelques petits morceaux de cuiure de p. 100.

A few days after the completion of the buildings I went to the river St. John to find the Indian called Secoudon,[1] who had conducted Prévert's men to the copper mine, for which I had already searched in company with the Sieur de Monts when we were at the Port of Mines but all to no purpose.[2] Having found him I begged him to accompany us, to which he very readily agreed, and came with us to show it to us. We found there, embedded in greyish and red rocks, a few

house instead of Jacob Robblee's. The two plans also differ in the distribution of the gardens; for the smaller seems to place two of them, an angular and a round one, close to the bank at the elevated point which is now a natural garden site of good soil.

[1] This chief Secoudon lived at the fortified Indian village which Champlain indicates on Plate LXIX, p. 268, by the letter E. Lescarbot describes this village as "a large enclosure upon a rising ground (*tertre*), enclosed with trees great and small" (ii. 356). Nicolas Denys, who knew this place well, described it by the word *butte*, and it was an acceptable site for later forts (vide *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, V, 1899, ii. 277). This knoll, known locally as "Old Fort," was formerly separated from the mainland by a strip of salt marsh through which ran a little tidal stream, which Champlain represents as converting the Old Fort knoll into an island. What then as to Navy Island, which would thus be absent from his map? The explanation is that the map was sketched from Blue Rock, on the west side of the harbour, from which point Navy Island is largely invisible, being concealed behind the Old Fort knoll. Only its eastern extremity is visible, and this is no doubt represented on Plate LXIX by the angular extension north-east of the cabin E. The name of this settlement was probably *Menaguesk*, meaning "on the little island" (involving the roots of *menagoo*, island, *chich*, little, and *k*, place), which word naturally was adopted by the French as the Indian name for this vicinity.

[2] Cf. p. 261 *supra*.

l'espoisseur d'vn sold ; & d'autres plus, enchassez dans des rochers grisastres & rouges.[1] Le mineur qui estoit auec nous, appelle Maistre Iaques, natif d'Esclauonie,[2] homme bien entendu à la recherche des mineraux, fut tout au tour des costaux voir s'il trouueroit de la gangue ; mais il n'en vid point : Bien trouua il à quelques pas d'où nous auions prins les morceaux de cuiure susdit, vne maniere de mine qui en approchoit aucunemēt. Il dit que par l'apparēce du terrouer, elle pourroit estre bonne si on y trauailloit, & qu'il n'estoit croyable que dessus la terre il y eut du cuiure pur, sans qu'au fonds il n'y en eut en quātité. La verité est, que si la mer ne couuroit deux fois le iour les mines, & qu'elles ne fussent en rochers si durs, on en espereroit quelque chose.

p. 101, Apres l'auoir recogneue, nous nous en retournasmes à nostre habitation, où nous trouuasmes de nos gens malades du mal de la terre, mais non si griefuemēt qu'en l'isle S.

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small bits of copper about as thick as a sou, and others thicker.[1] The miner who was with us, named Master Jaques, a native of Sclavonia,[2] a man well versed in the search for minerals, went all around the coasts to see if he could find any matrix, but saw none at all. He did find, however, a few paces from where we obtained the aforementioned pieces of copper, a kind of mine which somewhat resembled one. He stated that, from the appearance of the ground, it might prove good if it were worked, and that it was not likely there would be pure copper on the surface unless there was a quantity underneath. The truth is that if the sea did not cover these mines twice a day, and if they did not occur in rocks of such hardness, one might expect something therefrom.

After having examined it we returned to our settlement, where we found some of our men ill with scurvy, though not so seriously as at Ste. Croix island. Yet, of the forty-five of

[1] In the trap rocks off Black Point, close to Advocate, p. 263 *supra*.
[2] The region between the rivers Save and Drave.

Croix, bien que de 45. que nous estions il en mourut 12. dont le mineur fut du nombre, & cinq malades, qui guerirent le printemps venant. Nostre Chirurgien appelle des Champs, de Honfleur, homme expert en son art, fit ouuerture de quelques corps, pour veoir s'il recognoistroit mieux la cause des maladies, que n'auoient fait ceux de l'annee precedente.[1] Il trouua les parties du corps offencees comme ceux qui furent ouuerts en l'isle S. Croix, & ne peut on trouuer remede pour les guerir non plus que les autres.

Le 20. Decembre il commença à neger : & passa quelques glaces par deuant nostre habitation. L'yuer ne fut si aspre qu'il auoit esté l'annee d'auparauant, ny les neges si grandes, ny de si longue duree. Il fit entre autres choses vn si grand coup de vent le 20. de Feurier 1605.[2] qu'il abbatit vne grande quantité d'arbres auec leurs racines, & beaucoup qu'il brisa. C'estoit chose estrange à veoir. Les pluyes furent assez

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us twelve died, of whom our miner was one, and five were ill who recovered on the approach of spring. Our surgeon, named Des Champs, of Honfleur, a man skilled in his profession, opened some of the bodies to see if he could discover the cause of this illness better than had those who had tried in the previous year.[1] He found the same parts of the body affected as in those opened on Ste. Croix island, and could discover no remedy for curing them any more than had the others.

On the twentieth of December it began to snow, and some ice passed in front of our settlement. The winter was not so severe as it had been the year before, nor was the snow as deep or of such long duration. Among other occurrences, on the twentieth of February 1605[2] it blew so great a gale that a large number of trees were blown down, roots and all, and many broken off. It was a strange sight to behold. The

[1] See pp. 303-5 *supra*.

[2] 1606. Down to 1568 the year began in France at Easter.

ordinaires, qui fut occasion du peu d'yuer, au regard du passé, bien que du port Royal à S. Croix, n'y ait que 25. lieues.

p. 102. Le premier iour de Mars, Pont-graué fit accommoder vne barque du port de 17. a 18. tonneaux, qui fut preste au 15. pour aller descouurir le long de la coste de la Floride.

Pour cet effect nous partismes le 16. ensuiuāt, & fusmes cōtraints de relascher à vne isle au su de Menasne, & ce iour fismes 18. lieues, & mouillasmes l'ancre dans vne ance de sable, à l'ouuert de la mer, où le vēt de su dōnoit, qui se renforça la nuit d'vne telle impetuosité que ne peusmes tenir à l'ancre, & fallut par force aller à la coste, à la mercy de Dieu & des ondes, qui estoient si furieuses & mauuaises, que comme nous appareillions le bourcet[a] sur l'ancre, pour aprés coupper le cable sur l'escubier, il ne nous en donna le loisir car aussitost il se rompit sans coup frapper. A la ressaque le vēt & la mer nous ietterent sur vn petit rocher, & n'attendions que l'heure

[a] Voile de misaine.

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rains were quite frequent, which was the cause of the mild winter in comparison with the preceding, although from Port Royal to Ste. Croix the distance is only twenty-five leagues.

On the first of March, Pont-Gravé had a pinnace of some seventeen to eighteen tons' burden fitted out, which was ready on the fifteenth to proceed on a voyage of discovery along the coast of Florida.

For this purpose we set out on the sixteenth following, but were obliged to put in at an island to the south of Manan, having made that day eighteen leagues. We anchored in a sandy cove open to the sea, into which the south wind blew. During the night it increased to such force that the anchor could not hold, and we were driven towards the coast at the mercy of God and the waves, which were so furious and dangerous that when at anchor we were hoisting the lugsail in order afterwards to cut the cable at the hawse-hole, it did not give us time but straightway broke of itself. In the surf the wind and waves threw us upon a small rock, and we only

de voir briser nostre barque, pour nous sauuer sur quelques esclats d'icelle, si eusiōs peu. En ce desespoir il vint vn coup de mer si grād & fauorable, aprés en auoir receu plusieurs autres, qu'il nous fit franchir le rocher, & nous ietta en vne petite playe de sable, qui nous guarentit pour ceste fois de naufrage.[1]

La barque estant eschouee, l'on commença promptement à descharger ce qu'il y auoit dedans, pour voir où elle estoit offencee, qui ne fut pas tant que nous croyons. Elle fut p. 103. racoustree prōptemēt par la diligence de Chāpdoré Maistre d'icelle. Estant bien en estat on la rechargea en attēdant le beau tēps, & que la fureur de la mer s'apaisast, qui ne fut qu'au bout de quatre iours, sçauoir le 21. Mars, auquel sor-

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awaited the moment when we should see our boat break up, to save ourselves if we could upon some wreckage. In this desperate situation, after we had withstood several other waves, there came one so huge and fortunate that it carried us over the rock and threw us upon a little sandy beach which preserved us for the nonce from shipwreck.[1]

The pinnace being aground we immediately began to unload what was in her to see where was the damage, which was not so great as we imagined. She was speedily repaired by the diligence of Champdoré her master. When she was refitted, we reloaded her, and awaited fine weather and for the fury of the sea to abate. This did not happen for four days, that is to say on the twenty-first of March, when we

[1] This island is marked on Champlain's map of 1612 as *Ille gravée*, an adjectival form of *grave*, a name applied to gravel beaches. It is the largest and outermost of his group south-east of Grand Manan, and would therefore seem to be identical with White Head Island. On the western side of this island there is a cove having deep anchorage open to the south, and sandy beaches at its head, which might well have been the scene of their misadventure. Slafter (*op. cit.*, ii. 99) supposed the wreck occurred at Seal Cove on Grand Manan, and some years ago a curious old anchor brought up in this vicinity was supposed by local historians to be that lost by this expedition.

tismes de ce malheureux lieu, & fusmes au port aux Coquilles,[1] à 7. ou 8. lieues de là, qui est à l'entree de la riuiere saincte Croix, où y auoit grande quantité de neges. Nous y arrestasmes iusques au 29. dudit mois, pour les brumes & vēts cōtraires, qui sōt ordinaires en ces saisons, que le Pont-graué print resolution de relascher au port Royal, pour voir en quel estat estoient nos compagnons, que nous y auions laissez malades. Y estans arriués le Pont fut atteint d'vn mal de cœur, qui nous fit retarder iusques au 8. d'Auril.

Et le 9. du mesme mois il sembarqua, bien qu'il se trouuast encores maldisposé, pour le desir qu'il auoit de voir la coste de la Floride, & croyant que le changemēt d'air luy rendroit la santé. Ce iour fusmes mouiller l'ancre & passer la nuit à l'entree du port, distant de nostre habitation deux lieues.

Le lendemain deuant le iour Champdoré vint demander

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left this place of misfortune, and proceeded to Shell harbour,[1] seven or eight leagues distant, which is at the mouth of the Ste. Croix river, where lay a great quantity of snow. On account of fogs and head winds, which are usual at this season, we remained there until the twenty-ninth of this same month, when Pont-Gravé decided to put back to Port Royal to see in what state were our companions whom we had left there ill. On our arrival Pont-Gravé fell ill with an affection of the heart, which delayed us until the eighth of April.

On the ninth of the same month, although still indisposed, he embarked again, because of his desire to explore the coast of Florida, and in the belief that the change of air would restore him to health. That day we cast anchor and passed the night at the entrance of the port, two leagues from our settlement.

The next morning before daybreak Champdoré came and

[1] As shown on Champlain's map of 1607, this was at the north-east end of Campobello Island, and therefore the present Head Harbour.

au Pont-graué s'il desiroit faire leuer l'ancre, lequel luy respondit que s'il iugeoit le temps propre, qu'il partist. Sur ce p. 104. propos Champdoré fit à l'instant leuer l'ancre & mettre le bourcet au vent, qui estoit nort nordest, selon son rapport. Le temps estoit fort obscur, pluuieux & plain de brumes, auec plus d'aparence de mauuais que de beau tēps. Comme l'on vouloit sortir de l'emboucheure du port, nous fusmes tout à vn coup transportez par les marees hors du passage, & fusmes plustost sur les rochers du costé de l'est norouest,[1] que nous ne les eusmes apperceus. Le Pont & moy qui estions couchez, entendismes les matelots s'escriās & disans, Nous sommes perdus : ce qui me fit biē tost ietter sur pieds, pour voir ce que c'estoit. Du Pont estoit encores malade, qui l'empescha de se leuer si promptemēt qu'il desiroit. Ie ne fus pas sitost sur le tillac, que la barque fut iettee à la costé & le vent se trouua nort, qui nous poussoit sur vne pointe.

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asked Pont-Gravé whether he wished to have the anchor up, and the latter answered that if Champdoré considered the weather favourable, he should get under way. Thereupon Champdoré at once had the anchor raised and the lugsail spread to the wind, which according to him was north-northeast. The weather was very thick, being rainy and very foggy, with more prospect of bad weather than of good. As he sought to pass through the entrance of the port, we were suddenly carried by the tide out of the passage, and were upon the rocks on the east-north-east [1] side before we had seen them. Pont-Gravé and I, who were in bed, heard the sailors crying out and exclaiming, "We are lost," which soon brought me to my feet to see what had happened. Pont-Gravé was still ill, and this prevented him from getting up as quickly as he wished. I was no sooner on deck than the pinnace was thrown upon the coast, and the wind which was north drove

[1] The original *est norouest* is an impossible combination.

Nous deffrelasmes la grande voille, que l'on mit au vent. & la haussa l'on le plus qu'il fut possible pour nous pousser tousiours sur les rochers, de peur que le ressac de la maree, qui perdoit de bonne fortune, ne nous attirast dedans, d'où il eust esté impossible de nous sauuer. Du premier coup que nostre barque dōna sur les rochers le gouuernail fut rompu ;
p. 105. vne partie de la quille, & trois ou quatre planches enfoncees, auec quelques membres brisez, qui nous donna estonnemēt : car nostre barque semplit incontinent ; & ce que nous peusmes faire, fut d'attendre que la mer se retirast de dessoubs, pour mettre pied à terre : car autrement nous courions risque de la vie, à cause de la houlle qui estoit fort grande & furieuse au tour de nous. La mer estant donc retiree nous descendismes à terre par le tēps qu'il faisoit, où promptement on deschargea la barque de ce qu'il y auoit, & sauuasmes vne bonne partie des commoditez qui y estoient, à l'aide du Capitaine sauuage Secondon, & de ses compagnons, qui vindrēt à nous auec leurs canots, pour reporter en nostre

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us upon a point. We unfurled the mainsail, which we set and hoisted as high as we could in order to drive ourselves still farther upon the rocks, for fear lest the ebb of the tide, which by good fortune was running out, should drag us where it would have been impossible to save ourselves. At the first bump of our boat upon the rocks the rudder was broken, part of the keel and three or four planks were stove in, and some ribs were broken. This astonished us, for our pinnace immediately filled, and all we could do was to wait until the tide ran out to get ashore ; for otherwise we risked our lives in consequence of the swell, which was very great and furious all about us. The tide having at length ebbed, we went ashore amid the storm, and immediately unloaded the pinnace of her contents ; and we saved a good part of the commodities in her, with the help of the Indian chief Secoudon and his companions, who came to us in their canoes to carry to our settle-

habitation ce que nous auions sauué de nostre barque, laquelle toute fracassee s'en alla au retour de la mer en plusieurs pieces : & nous bien heureux d'auoir la vie sauue retournasmes en nostre habitation auec nos pauures sauuages, qui y demeurerent presque vne bonne partie de l'yuer, où nous louasmes Dieu de nous auoir preseruez de ce naufrage, dont n'esperions sortir à si bon marché.

La perte de nostre barque nous fit vn grand desplaisir, pour nous voir, à faute de vaisseau, hors d'esperãce de parfaire le voyage que nous auiõs entreprins, & de n'en pouuoir fabriquer vn autre ; car le temps nous pressoit, bien qu'il y p. 106. eust encore vne barque sur les chantiers : mais elle eut esté trop long temps à mettre en estat, & ne nous en eussions peu seruir qu'au retour des vaisseaux de France, qu'attendions de iour en autre.

Ce fut vne grande disgrace, & faute de preuoyance au Maistre, qui estoit opiniastre & peu entẽdu au fait de la

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ment what we had saved from our pinnace, which, being all battered, on the return of the tide, went to pieces. We were very happy to have saved our lives, and returned to our settlement with our poor Indians, who remained there the greater part of the winter. We praised God for saving us from this shipwreck, from which we did not expect to escape so easily.

The loss of our pinnace caused us great sorrow; for we saw ourselves through want of a vessel without hope of completing the voyage we had undertaken; and we were unable to construct another; for time was pressing, and although there was another pinnace on the stocks, it would have taken too long to get her ready, and we could not have made use of her before the return from France of the vessels we were expecting from day to day.

This was a great disaster and a lack of foresight on the part of the master, who was obstinate and little versed in seaman-

marine, qui ne croioit que sa teste. Il estoit bon Charpentier, adroit à fabriquer des vaisseaux, & soigneux de les accommoder de choses necessaires : mais il n'estoit nullement propre à les conduire.

Le Pont estant à l'habitation, fit informer à l'encontre de Champdoré, qui estoit accusé d'auoir malicieusement mis nostre barque à la coste ; & sur ses informatiōs fut emprisonné & emmenotté, d'autāt qu'on le vouloit mener en France pour le mettre entre les mains du sieur de Mons, & en requerir iustice.

Le 15. de Iuin le Pont voyant que les vaisseaux de France ne reuenoiēt point, fit desēmenotter Champdoré pour paracheuer la barque qui estoit sur les chantiers, lequel s'aquitta fort bien de son deuoir.

Et le 16. Iuillet, qui estoit le temps que nous nous deuions retirer, au cas que les vaisseaux ne fussent reuenus, ainsi qu'il estoit porté par la commission qu'auoit donnée le sieur de

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ship, and would have his own way. He was a good carpenter, skilled in building vessels and careful in fitting them out with everything needful, but he was in no wise qualified to navigate them.

On reaching the settlement, Pont-Gravé held an inquiry against Champdoré, who was accused of having run our pinnace ashore with malicious intent, and after his examination he was imprisoned and handcuffed, in order to be taken to France and delivered into the custody of the Sieur de Monts, and justice demanded against him.

On the fifteenth of June Pont-Gravé, seeing that the vessels from France did not return, had Champdoré set free to finish the pinnace which was on the stocks ; and this duty he discharged very well.

And on the sixteenth of July, which was the date when we were to leave in case the vessels had not returned, as was set out in the commission which the Sieur de Monts had

Monts au Pont, nous partismes de nostre habitation pour aller p. 107. au cap Breton ou à Gaspe, chercher le moyē de retourner en France, puis que nous n'en auions[a] aucunes nouuelles.

Il y eust deux de nos hommes qui demeurerēt de leur propre volōté pour prendre garde à ce qui restoit des commoditez en l'habitation,[1] à chacun desquels le Pont promit cinquante escus en argent, & cinquāte autres qu'il deuoit faire valoir leur practique, en les venant requerir l'annee suiuante.

Il y eut vn Capitaine des sauuages appellé Mabretou[2] qui promit de les maintenir, & qu'ils n'auroient non plus de deplaisir que s'ils estoiēt ses propres enfans. Nous l'auions recogneu pour bon sauuage en tout le temps que nous y fusmes, bien qu'il eust le renom d'estre le plus meschant & traistre qui fut entre ceux de sa nation.

[a] Le texte original porte, *n'en n'auions.*

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given to Pont-Gravé, we departed from our settlement to go to Cape Breton or to Gaspé, to seek means of returning to France, since we were without any news from that quarter.

There were two of our men who of their own accord remained to take care of what was left of the goods in the settlement,[1] to each of whom Pont-Gravé promised fifty silver crowns, and fifty more which he agreed to pay to their representatives, on coming to get them in the following year.

There was an Indian chief named Membertou,[2] who promised to look after them, and that they should be no more unhappy than if they were his own children. We had found him a good Indian all the time we were there, although he had the reputation of being the worst and most treacherous man of his tribe.

[1] Lescarbot preserves their names, La Taille and Miquelet, in approbation and memory of their brave action (ii. 313).

[2] Lescarbot and Father Biard called him Membertou. Lescarbot in particular has much to say of him. He was a great chief and a devoted friend of the French. Champlain mentions him again at pp. 444-5 *infra.*

Partement du port Royal pour retourner en France. Rencontre de Ralleau au cap de Sable, qui fit rebrousser chemin.

CHAP. XII.

LE 17. du mois, suiuant la resolution que nous auions prise, nous partismes de l'emboucheure du port Royal auec deux barques, l'vne du port de 18. tonneaux, &
p. 108. l'autre de 7. à 8. pour parfaire la routte du cap Breton ou de Cãpseau & vinsmes mouiller l'ancre au destroit de l'isle Longue,[1] où la nuit nostre cable rompit & courusmes risque de nous perdre par les grandes marees qui iettent sur plusieurs pointes de rochers, qui sont dans & à la sortie de ce lieu : Mais par la diligence d'vn chacun on y remedia & fit on en sorte qu'on en sortit pour ceste fois.

Le 21. du mois il vint vn grand coup de vent qui rompit les ferremens de nostre gouuernail entre l'isle Longue & le

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CHAPTER XII

Departure from Port Royal in order to return to France. Meeting with Ralleau at Cape Sable, which made us turn back.

ON the seventeenth of the month, in accordance with the resolution we had formed, we set out from the entrance to Port Royal in two pinnaces, one of eighteen and the other of seven to eight tons' burden, to make the journey to Cape Breton or Canso. We came to anchor in Long Island strait,[1] where during the night our cable broke, and we were in danger of being lost because of the great tidal currents which dash against numerous rocky points that lie within and at the outlet of this place : but by the efforts of all, this was avoided and we managed that time to escape.

On the twenty-first of the month, between Long Island

[1] See p. 245 *supra*, and the map on p. 247.

cap fourchu,[1] & nous mit en telle peine, que nous ne sçauiõs de quel bois faire flesches : car d'aborder la terre, la furie de la mer ne le permettoit pas, par ce qu'elle brisoit haute comme des montaignes le long de la coste : de façõ que nous resolusmes plustost mourir à la mer, que d'aborder la terre, sur l'esperance que le vent & la tourmente s'appaiseroit, pour puis apres ayant le vent en pouppe aller eschouer en quelque playe de sable. Comme chacun pensoit à part soy à ce qui seroit de faire pour nostre seureté, vn matelot dit, qu'vne quãtité de cordages attachez au derriere de la barque, & trainant en l'eau, nous pourroit aucunement seruir pour gouuerner nostre vaisseau, mais ce fut si peu que rien, & vismes bien que si Dieu ne nous aidoit d'autres moyens, celuy p. 109. là ne nous eust guarẽtis du naufrage. Comme nous estions pensifs à ce qu'on pourroit faire pour nostre seureté, Chãpdoré, qu'on auoit de rechef emmenotté, dit à quelques vns de nous, que si le Pont vouloit qu'il trouueroit moyen de faire

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and Cape Fourchu,[1] there arose a heavy squall which broke our rudder-irons and placed us in such a predicament that we did not know what to do; for the fury of the sea did not permit us to land, since the breakers ran mountains high along the coast. Consequently we determined rather to die at sea than to land, in the hope that the wind and the tempest would abate so that with the wind astern we might afterwards run ashore on some sandy beach. As each was thinking for himself what should be done for our safety, a sailor suggested that a mass of rope attached to the stern of the pinnace and dragging in the water would serve to some extent to steer our vessel; but this had no effect at all, and we saw clearly that unless God aided us by other means, this one would not preserve us from shipwreck. As we were thinking what could be done for our safety, Champdoré, who had again been handcuffed, said to some of us that if Pont-Gravé were

[1] See p. 244 *supra*.

gouuerner nostre barque : ce que nous rapportasmes au Pont, qui ne refusa pas ceste offre, & les autres encore moins. Il fut donc desemmenotté pour la seconde fois, & quant & quant prist vn cable qu'il coupa, & en accommoda fort dextrement le gouuernail & le fit aussi bien gouuerner que iamais il auoit fait : & par ce moyen repare les fautes qu'il auoit commises à la premiere barque qui fut perdue : & fut liberé de ce dōt il auoit esté accusé, par les prieres que nous en fismes au Pont-graué qui eut vn peu de peine à s'y resoudre.

Ce iour mesme fusmes mouiller l'ancre prez la baye courante,[1] à deux lieues du cap fourchu,[2] & là fut racommodee la barque.[3]

Le 23. du mois de Iuillet fusmes proche du cap de Sable.

Le 24. dudit mois sur les deux heures du soir nous apperçeusmes vne chalouppe, proche de l'isle aux cormorans,[4] qui

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willing, he would find a means of steering our pinnace. We reported the matter to Pont-Gravé, who did not refuse this offer, and the others even less. Champdoré was accordingly set free for the second time ; and thereupon, taking a rope and cutting it, he very cleverly mended the rudder, and made it act as well as ever it had done. In this way he makes amends for the mistakes he had committed on the first pinnace, which was lost ; and through the entreaties we made for him to Pont-Gravé, who had some reluctance in coming to this decision, he was freed from the accusation against him.

The same day we came to anchor near the Bay of Currents,[1] two leagues from Cape Fourchu,[2] and there our pinnace was repaired.[3]

On the twenty-third of July we were off Cape Sable.

On the twenty-fourth of the same month, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we caught sight, near the Isle of Cormorants,[4] of

[1] See p. 241 *supra*, note 2. [2] See p. 244 *supra*.
[3] This must have been among the Tusket Islands.
[4] Green Island, west of Cape Sable (see p. 241 *supra*).

venoit du cap de Sable, qu'aucuns iugeoient estre des sauuages qui se retiroient du cap Breton, ou de l'isle de Cāpseau : D'autres disoiēt que se pouuoit estre des cha- p. 110a.
louppes qu'on enuoyoit de Campseau pour sçauoir de nos nouuelles. Enfin approchant plus prez on vid que s'estoiēt François, ce qui nous resiouit fort : Et cōme elle nous eust presque ioints, nous recogneusmes Ralleau Secretaire du sieur de Mōs, ce qui nous redoubla le contentement. Il nous fit entendre que le sieur de Mons enuoyoit vn vaisseau de six vingts tonneaux,[1] & que le sieur de Poitrincourt y commandoit, & estoit venu pour Lieutenant general, & demeurer au pays auec cinquante hommes : & qu'il auoit mis pied à terre à Campseau, d'ou ledit vaisseau auoit pris la plaine mer, pour voir s'il ne nous descouuriroit point, cependant que luy s'en venoit le long de la coste dans vne chalouppe pour nous rencontrer au cas qu'y fussions en chemin, croyās que serions partis du port Royal, comme il

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a shallop coming from Cape Sable. Some of us thought it contained Indians who were leaving Cape Breton or the island of Canso : others said it might be one of the shallops they were sending from Canso to obtain news of us. Finally, on drawing nearer, we saw they were Frenchmen, which gave us great joy; and when the boat had almost reached us, we recognised Ralleau, the secretary of the Sieur de Monts, which redoubled our joy. He informed us that the Sieur de Monts was sending a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons,[1] commanded by the Sieur de Poutrincourt, who as lieutenant-general had come to remain in the country with fifty men whom he had landed at Canso. Thence the vessel had taken the open sea to try and find us, whilst Ralleau in a shallop skirted the coast to meet us in case we should come that way, thinking we might have left Port Royal, as indeed

[1] This was the *Jonas*, and on board was Lescarbot, who in his *Histoire* (ii. 296-313) describes the voyage from La Rochelle to Port Royal.

estoit bien vray : Et en cela firent fort sagement. Toutes ces nouuelles nous firẽt rebrousser chemin : & arriuasmes au port Royal le 25.[1] du mois, où nous trouuasmes led. vaisseau, & le sieur de Poitrincourt, ce qui nous apporta beaucoup de resiouissance, pour voir renaistre ce qui estoit hors d'esperãce. Il nous dit que ce qui auoit causé son retardement estoit vn
p. 111. accident qui estoit suruenu au vaisseau, au sortir de la chaine de la Rochelle, d'où il estoit party, & auoit esté contrarié du mauuais temps sur son voyage.

Le lendemain le sieur de Poitrincourt commença à discourir de ce qu'il deuoit faire, & auec l'aduis d'vn chacun se resolut de demeurer au port Royal pour ceste annee, d'autant que l'on n'auoit descouuert aucune chose depuis le sieur de Mons, & que quatre mois qu'il y auoit iusques à l'yuer n'estoit assez pour chercher & faire vne autre habitation : encore

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was the case; and in so doing they acted very wisely. All this news made us turn back, and we arrived on the twenty-fifth of the month[1] at Port Royal, where we found the said vessel, and the Sieur de Poutrincourt, which gave us great delight thus to see revived what had been beyond hope. He told us that the delay had been caused by an accident which had happened to the vessel on leaving the chain at La Rochelle, whence they had set out; and during the voyage they had been delayed by bad weather.

The next day the Sieur de Poutrincourt proceeded to explain what ought to be done, and with the approval of every one decided to remain at Port Royal for this year, inasmuch as nothing had been discovered since the Sieur de Monts' voyage, and the four months which remained before winter were not sufficient to seek a new site and make

[1] As Laverdière points out (*op. cit.*, iii. 88), this must be an error; for the ship which they found in port did not arrive there until the 27th, as Lescarbot affirms, while the same good authority says that Pont-Gravé, with whom was Champlain, did not reach the port until the last day of July.

auec vn grand vaisseau, qui n'est pas comme vne barque, qui tire peu d'eau, furette par tout, & trouue des lieux à souhait pour faire des demeures : mais que durant ce temps on iroit seulement recognoistre quelque endroit plus commode pour nous loger.[1]

Sur ceste resolution le sieur de Poitrincourt enuoya aussitost quelques gẽs de trauail au labourage de la terre, en vn lieu qu'il iugea propre, qui est dedans la riuiere, à vne lieue & demie de l'habitation du port Royal, où nous pensames faire nostre demeure, & y fit semer du bled, seigle, chanure, & plusieurs autres graines, pour voir ce qu'il en reüssiroit.[2]

Le 22. d'Aoust, on aduisa vne petite barque qui tiroit vers nostre habitation. C'estoit des Autons[a] de S. Maslo, qui venoit

[a] *Sic.*

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another settlement, especially with a large vessel, which is unlike a pinnace that draws little water, ferrets everywhere, and finds suitable places for settlements : but during this time we should merely discover some more commodious situation for our abode.[1]

Upon this decision, the Sieur de Poutrincourt at once despatched some labourers to cultivate the land at a spot he considered suitable, which is up the river a league and a half from the settlement of Port Royal, where we had thought of making our abode. There he had wheat, rye, hemp, and several other seeds sown to ascertain how they would thrive.[2]

On the 22nd of August, a small pinnace was seen approaching our settlement. It was Des Antons of St. Malo who

[1] Lescarbot shows that Poutrincourt had instructions from Monts to explore southward beyond Mallebarre, and to remove the settlement to some place with a better climate than that of Ste. Croix or Port Royal. Apparently the first intention was to remove the entire colony the next season, exploring as they went, while the second thought, which was actually carried out, was to utilise the remainder of the summer in making an exploration, leaving the actual removal for another year (ii. 318).

[2] This is the beginning of the European occupation of Annapolis Royal. *Cf.* p. 368 *supra.*

p. 112. de Campseau, où estoit son vaisseau, à la pesche du poisson, pour nous donner aduis qu'il y auoit quelques vaisseaux au tour du cap Bretō qui traittoiēt de pelleterie, & que si on vouloit enuoyer nostre nauire, il les prendroit en s'en retournant en France : ce qui fut resolu aprés qu'il seroit deschargé des commodités qui estoient dedans.

Ce qu'estant fait, du Pont-graué s'enbarqua dedans auec le reste de ses compagnons qui auoient demeuré l'yuer auec luy au port Royal, horsmis quelques vns, qui fut Champdoré & Foulgeré de Vitré.[1] I'y demeuray aussi auec le sieur de Poitrincourt, pour moyennant l'ayde de Dieu, parfaire la carte des costes & pays que i'auois commēcé. Toutes choses mises en ordre en l'habitatiō, le sieur de Poitrincourt fit charger des viures pour nostre voyage de la costé de la Floride.

Et le 29. d'Aoust partismes du port Royal quant & Pont-

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came from Canso, where his vessel was fishing, to inform us that about Cape Breton were several vessels engaged in the fur trade, and that if we cared to send our ship, we might capture them on our way back to France. It was decided to do so when the ship had unloaded the goods which were on board.

When this had been done Pont-Gravé embarked with the remainder of his companions who had spent the winter with him at Port Royal, excepting one or two, who were Champdoré and Foulgeré of Vitré.[1] I also remained with the Sieur de Poutrincourt, in order with God's help to complete the map I had begun of these coasts and countries. Everything having been put in order at the settlement, the Sieur de Poutrincourt had provisions placed on board for our voyage to the coast of Florida.

On the 29th of August we set out from Port Royal, along

[1] No doubt the Sieur de Fougeray, mentioned on Champlain's picture-plan on Plate LXXI, p. 278. Vitré is an historic old town not far from St. Malo.

graué, & des Antons qui alloient au cap Breton & à Campseau pour se saisir des vaisseaux qui fesoient traitte de pelleterie, comme i'ay dit cy dessus.[1] Estans à la mer nous fusmes contraints de relascher au port pour le mauuais vent qu'auions. Le grand vaisseau tint tousiours sa route & bientost le perdismes de veuë.

Le sieur de Poitrincourt part du port Royal pour faire des descouuertures. Tout ce que l'on y vid : & ce qui y arriua iusques à Male-barre. p. 113.

CHAP. XIII.

LE 5. Septembre, nous partismes de rechef du port Royal.[2]

Le 7. nous fusmes à l'entree de la riuiere S. Croix, où trouuasmes quantité de sauuages, entre autres

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with Pont-Gravé and Des Antons, who were on their way to Cape Breton and Canso to seize the ships which were trading in furs, as I have already mentioned.[1] Having reached the sea, we were obliged to put back to port on account of the bad weather we met. The large vessel held on her course, and was soon lost to view.

CHAPTER XIII

The Sieur de Poutrincourt sets out from Port Royal to make discoveries. Everything we saw and that happened as far as Mallebarre.

ON the 5th of September we set out anew from Port Royal.[2]

On the 7th we were off the mouth of the river Ste. Croix, where we found a number of Indians, among

[1] Lescarbot says that Pont-Gravé did not capture this trader, Boyer, for he had gone. He had been imprisoned at La Rochelle for a similar offence, but released, with Poutrincourt's permission, on promise not to repeat it (ii. 318).

[2] Lescarbot tells us that Poutrincourt put back twice to Port Royal

Secondon & Messamouet. Nous nous y pensames perdre contre vn islet de rochers, par l'opiniastreté de Champdoré, à quoy il estoit fort subiect.

Le lendemain fusmes dedãs vne chalouppe à l'isle de S. Croix, où le sieur de Mons auoit yuerné, voir si nous trouueriõs quelques espics du bled, & autres graines qu'il y auoit fait semer. Nous trouuasmes du bled qui estoit tombé en terre, & estoit venu aussi beau qu'on eut sceu desirer, & quantité d'herbes potageres qui estoient venues belles & grãdes : cela nous resiouit infiniment, pour voir que la terre y estoit bonne & fertile.

Apres auoir visité l'isle, nous retournasmes à nostre barque, qui estoit du port de 18. tonneaux, & en chemin prismes quantité de maquereaux, qui y sont en abondance en ce temps là ; & se resolut on de continuer le voyage

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others Secoudon and Messamouet. We were like to have been lost there on a rocky islet through Champdoré's obstinacy, to which he was very subject.

The next day we went in a shallop to Ste. Croix island, where the Sieur de Monts had wintered, to see if we could find any spikes of wheat and other seeds he had had sown there. We found some wheat which had fallen to the ground and had come up as fine as one could desire, and a quantity of garden vegetables which had grown up fair and large. It gave us the greatest pleasure to see that the soil there was good and fertile.

After visiting the island we returned to our pinnace, which was of eighteen tons' burden ; and on the way caught a number of mackerel, which abound there at this season. It was decided to continue our voyage along the coast,

because of contrary winds and the leakiness of the pinnace. Such details, which Champlain omits, tend collectively to bring the expedition more vividly before us (*Histoire*, ii. 319).

le long de la coste, ce qui ne fut pas trop biẽ consideré : p. 114.
d'autant que nous perdismes beaucoup de temps à repasser sur les descouuertures que le sieur de Mons auoit faites iusques au port de Malebarre,[1] & eut esté plus à propos, selon mon opinion, de trauerser du lieu où nous estions iusques aud. Malebarre, dont on sçauoit le chemin, & puis employer le temps iusques au 40. degré, ou plus su, & au retour reuoir toute la coste à son plaisir.

Aprés ceste resolution nous prismes auec nous Secondon & Messamouët, qui vindrent iusques à Chouacoet [2] dedans vne chalouppe, où ils vouloient aller faire amitié auec ceux du pays en leur faisant quelques presens.

Le 12. de Septembre nous partismes de la riuiere saincte Croix.

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which was not a wise decision, inasmuch as we lost much time in going over again the discoveries that the Sieur de Monts had made as far as Port Mallebarre.[1] It would have been more to the purpose, in my opinion, to cross from where we were to the aforementioned Mallebarre, the route to which we knew, and then to employ the time in exploring to the 40th degree or farther south, revisiting on our return the entire coast at our leisure.

Upon this decision we took with us Secoudon and Messamouet, who came in a boat as far as Saco,[2] where they wished to go to make an alliance with those of that country by offering them sundry presents.

On the 12th of September we set out from the river Ste. Croix.

[1] Nauset harbour. This was Champlain's third and last expedition along the New England coast, the first having reached Penobscot, and the second Nauset harbour, south of Cape Cod. See pp. 280-300 and 311-66.

[2] See p. 324 *supra*.

Le 21.[1] arriuasmes à Chouacoet, où nous vismes Onemechin chef de la riuiere, & Marchin, lesquels auoient fait la cueillette de leur bleds. Nous vismes des raisins à l'isle de Bacchus [2] qui estoiēt meurs & assez bōs : & d'autres qui ne l'estoient pas, qui auoient le grain aussi beau que ceux de France, & m'asseure que s'ils estoient cultiuez, on en feroit de bon vin.

En ce lieu le sieur de Poitrincourt retira vn prisonnier qu'auoit Onemechin, auquel Messamouet fit des presens de
p. 115. chaudieres, haches, cousteaux, & autres choses.[3] Onemechin

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On the 21st [1] we reached Saco, where we saw Onemechin, chief of that river, and Marchin, who had finished harvesting their corn. At the island of Bacchus,[2] we saw grapes which were ripe and fairly good, and others which were not ; they had a fruit as fine as those of France, and I am convinced that if they were cultivated one could make good wine from them.

In this place the Sieur de Poutrincourt rescued a prisoner from Onemechin, to whom Messamouet made presents of kettles, axes, knives and other articles.[3] Onemechin made

[1] Particulars of this voyage from Ste. Croix to Saco are given by Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, ii. 322), who states that they took four days to reach Penobscot, having stopped on the way to repair the pinnace. At Kennebec they ran into peril caused by the swift currents. Thence they went to *Marchin Bay*, which was undoubtedly Casco Bay, and, apparently at the Seven Islands of Champlain (*cf.* p. 322 *supra*, note 1), they had a meeting with Marchin, which Champlain omits altogether. After a striking greeting, Poutrincourt made friends with Marchin, cemented by a great many presents which Marchin distributed among his people, afterwards giving much moose meat to Poutrincourt.

[2] Richmonds Island (see p. 324).

[3] Lescarbot tells us that Messamouet, who was chief of La Have, gave Onemechin (whom Lescarbot calls Olmechin) "kettles, large, medium, and small, hatchets, knives, dresses, capes, red jackets, peas, beans, biscuits, and other such things" obtained by trade from the French. Messamouet's speech "occupied about an hour, and was delivered with much vehemence and earnestness, and with such gestures of body and arm as befit a good orator" (ii. 323). Lescarbot, in his *Muses of New France*, adds particulars of the wars which followed the next year, in which both Onemechin and Marchin were killed.

luy en fit au reciproque, de bled d'Inde, cytrouilles, febues du Bresil : ce qui ne contenta pas beaucoup ledit Messamouet, qui partit d'auec eux fort mal content, pour ne l'auoir pas bien recogneu, de ce qu'il leur auoit donné, en dessein de leur faire la guerre en peu de temps : car ces nations ne donnent qu'en donnant, si ce n'est à personnes qui les ayent bien obligez, comme de les auoir assistez en leurs guerres.

Continuant nostre routte, nous allasmes au cap aux isles,[1] où fusmes vn peu contrariez du mauuais temps & des brumes ; & ne trouuasmes pas beaucoup d'apparence de passer la nuit : d'autant que le lieu n'y estoit pas propre. Comme nous estions en ceste peine, il me resouuint, que rengeāt la coste auec le sieur de Mōs, i'auois, à vne lieue de là, remarqué en ma carte vn lieu, qui auoit apparence d'estre bon pour vaisseaux, où n'entrasmes point à cause que nous auions le vent propre à faire nostre routte, lors que nous y passames. Ce

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return in Indian corn, squashes, and Brazilian beans; but these did not altogether satisfy Messamouet, who departed much displeased because he had not been suitably repaid for what he had given them, and with the intention of making war upon them before long; for these people give only with the idea of receiving something, except to persons who have done them some signal service, such as aiding them in their wars.

Continuing our route we went to Island Cape,[1] where we were delayed a little by bad weather and fog, and where we did not see much probability of spending the night, inasmuch as the place was not suitable for this purpose. Whilst we were in this predicament I remembered that when following this coast with the Sieur de Monts, I had noted on my map at a league's distance a place which appeared suitable for vessels, into which we had not entered because, at the time we were passing, the wind was favourable for holding on our course.

[1] Cape Ann (see p. 334).

lieu estoit derriere nous, qui fut occasion que ie dis au sieur de Poitrincourt qu'il faloit relascher à vne pointe que nous y voiyōs, où estoit le lieu dont il estoit question, lequel me sembloit estre propre pour y passer la nuit. Nous fusmes
p. 116. mouiller l'ancre à l'entree, & le lendemain entrasmes dedans.[1]

Le sieur de Poitrincourt y mit pied à terre auec huit ou dix de nos compagnons. Nous vismes de fort beaux raisins qui estoiēt à maturité, pois du Bresil,[2] courges, cytrouilles, &

This place lay behind us, on which account I said to the Sieur de Poutrincourt that we must stand in for a point which was then visible, where was situated the place in question which seemed to me suitable for passing the night. We proceeded to anchor at the entrance, and the next day went inside.[1]

The Sieur de Poutrincourt landed with eight or ten of our company. We saw some very fine grapes which were ripe, Brazilian peas,[2] pumpkins, squashes, and some good roots with

[1] Gloucester harbour, the principal fishing port and most popular summer resort on the Massachusetts coast, and one of the best of New England harbours. It was named Beauport, and mapped by Champlain. *Cf.* Plate LXXVII, p. 401.

The elaborateness of Champlain's explanation of his part in the discovery of this harbour is perhaps intended to cover some chagrin at missing so fine a port on his former voyage; and he is careful to show that after all its discovery was due to his own previous knowledge.

Champlain's narrative of this visit has been translated, and his map reproduced, in Pringle's *History of Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1892). Pringle's identifications agree substantially with those contained in these notes, which I had worked out on the ground before I made acquaintance with his book.

[2] An obvious slip for Brazilian beans. The plant with roots tasting like chards was evidently the native Jerusalem artichoke (*cf.* p. 351). The trees mentioned a little later are all known to occur in this region, the nut-trees being hickories (*cf.* p. 329). The sassafras (*Sassafras variifolium* (Salisb.) Ktze) is here not far from its northern limit. The Sieur de Poutrincourt's landing place, as indicated by the boat on Champlain's map, was on the beach of the very pleasant slope in Stage Fort park, where a few years later, in 1623, the first English settlement was

des racines qui sont bōnes, tirāt sur le goust de cardes, que les sauuages cultiuēt. Il[s] nous en firent quelques presens en contr'eschange d'autres petites bagatelles qu'ō leur dōna. Ils auoiēt desia fait leur moisson. Nous vismes 200. sauuages en ce lieu, qui est assez aggreable, & y a quantité de noyers, cypres, sasafras, chesnes, fresnes & hestres, qui sōt tresbeaux. Le chef de ce lieu s'appelle Quiouhamenec, qui nous vint voir auec vn autre sien voisin nōmé Cohoüepech, à qui nous fismes bonne chere.[1] Onemechin chef de Chouacoet nous y vint aussi voir, à qui on dōna vn habit qu'il ne garda pas lon temps, & en fit present à vn autre, à cause qu'estant gesné dedans il ne s'en pouuoit accommoder.[2] Nous vismes aussi en ce lieu vn sauuage qui se blessa tellemēt au pied, & perdit tant de sang, qu'il en tōba en syncope, autour duquel en vint

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a flavour like that of chards, which the Indians cultivate. They presented us with a number of these in exchange for other little trifles which we gave them. They had already completed their harvest. We saw two hundred Indians in this place, which is pleasant enough; and here are many nut-trees, cypresses, sassafras, oaks, ashes, and beeches, which are very fine. The chief of this place, who is called Quiouhamenec, came to see us with another chief, a neighbour of his named Cohouepech, whom we entertained.[1] Onemechin, chief of Saco, also came to see us there, and we gave him a coat, which he did not keep long, but presented to another because, being uncomfortable in it, he could not adapt himself to it.[2] At this place we also saw an Indian who wounded himself so badly in the foot, and lost so much blood, that he fainted.

made. Here, doubtless, as the best site for the purpose, the principal Indian settlements were at this time situated. See Plate LXXVII, p. 401.

[1] Lescarbot relates that when they were visiting the Indian lodges, an old woman of a hundred or six-score years of age threw at the feet of Poutrincourt a loaf of bread made of maize; and he adds other interesting particulars of this visit (*Histoire*, ii. 325-6).

[2] *Cf.* p. 325 *supra*.

nombre d'autres chantans vn espace de temps deuant que de luy toucher : aprés firent quelques gestes des pieds & des mains, & luy secouerēt la teste, puis le soufflant il reuint à luy.
p. 117. Nostre chirurgien le pensa, & ne laissa aprés de s'en aller gayement.[1]

Le lendemain comme on calfeustroit nostre chalouppe, le sieur de Poitrincourt apperceut dans le bois quantité de sauuages, qui venoyēt en intention de nous faire quelque desplaisir, se rēde à vn petit ruisseau qui est sur le destroit d'vne chaussee, qui va à la grande terre, où de nos gēs blanchissoient du linge. Comme ie me pourmenois le long d'icelle chaussee ces sauuages m'apperçeurēt, & pour faire bōne mine, à cause qu'ils virent biē que ie les auois descouuers en pareil temps, ils commancerent à sescrier & se mettre à danser :

A number of other Indians gathered about him, and sang for some time before touching him. Afterwards they made certain motions with their feet and hands, and shook his head; then while they breathed upon him, he came to. Our surgeon dressed his injuries, and afterwards he was able to go off in good spirits.[1]

The next day, as we were caulking our shallop, the Sieur de Poutrincourt caught sight in the woods of a great many Indians, who with the intention of doing us some injury were on their way towards a little brook in the strait at the causeway leading to the mainland, where some of our men were washing their clothes. As I was walking along the causeway these Indians caught sight of me, and in order to put a good face upon the matter, since they saw clearly that I at the same time had discovered them, they began to shout and to dance ;

[1] Lescarbot (ii. 325, 328) says the Indian was one of a "good number of pipers, who played, though with less harmony than our shepherds, upon a kind of long flageolet, made apparently of reeds, with designs painted thereon." Lescarbot describes also the giving of the coat to Onemechin ; and "on his return to the lodges he distributed it among several of his people, in order that no one man might be too much impeded by it."

puis s'en vindrent à moy auec leurs arcs, flesches, carquois & autres armes. Et d'autant qu'il y auoit vne prairie entre eux & moy, ie leur fis signe qu'ils redāsassent ; ce qu'ils firent en rond, mettant toutes leurs armes au milieu d'eux. Ils ne faisoient presque que commēcer, qu'ils aduiserent le sieur de Poitrincourt dedans le bois auec huit arquebusiers, ce qui les estonna : toutesfois ne laisserent d'acheuer leur danse, laquelle estant finie, ils se retirerent d'vn costé & d'autre, auec apprehention qu'on ne leur fit quelque mauuais party : Nous ne leur dismes pourtant rien, & ne leur fismes que toutes demonstrations de resiouissance ;[1] puis nous reuinsmes à nostre chalouppe pour la mettre à l'eaue, & nous en p. 118.

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then they came towards me with their bows, arrows, quivers, and other arms. And inasmuch as there was a meadow between them and me, I made a sign to them to dance again, which they did in a circle, putting all their arms in the centre. They had hardly begun when they espied in the woods the Sieur de Poutrincourt with eight musketeers, which astonished them. Nevertheless they did not fail to complete their dance, but when it was finished, they withdrew in all directions, being apprehensive lest some bad turn should be done to them. However, we said nothing to them, and showed them only evidences of good will.[1] Then we returned to our shallop to launch it and to take our departure. They begged us to

[1] Champlain upon his map gives further details. The incidents occurred at the base of the causeway connecting Rocky Neck with the mainland. Lescarbot describes the matter thus, his use of *we* being of course editorial, not personal : " On the second day after our arrival, when they saw our men on the bank of the stream busy with their washing, some fifty of them came in single file, with bows, arrows, and quivers, intending to play some dirty trick, as we guessed by their behaviour. But we were too quick for them, and marched to meet them with loaded muskets and lighted matches. On this some of them fled and the others were surrounded, whereupon they laid aside their arms, and, coming to a peninsula where our men were, put the best face on it they could, and sought to barter their tobacco for our goods."

aller. Ils nous prierent de retarder vn iour, disans qu'il viendroit plus de deux mil hommes pour nous voir : mais ne pouuans perdre temps, nous ne voulusmes diferer d'auãtage. Ie croy que ce qu'ils en fesoiẽt estoit pour nous surprendre. Il y a quelques terres desfrichees, & en desfrichoient tous les iours : en voicy la façon. Ils couppẽt les arbres à la hauteur de trois pieds de terre, puis font brusler les branchages sur le tronc, & sement leur bled entre ces bois couppez : & par succession de temps ostent les racines. Il y a aussi de belles prairies pour y nourrir nombre de bestail. Ce port est tresbeau & bon, où il y a de l'eau assez pour les vaisseaux, & où on se peut mettre à l'abry derriere des isles. Il est par la hauteur de 43. degrez de latitude ; & l'auons nommé le
p. 119. Beau-port.[1] [PLANCHE : LE BEAU PORT.]

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remain a day longer, saying that more than two thousand men would come to see us ; but as we could not afford to lose time we were unwilling to delay any longer. I believe that their plan was to surprise us. Some of the land is cleared, and they were constantly clearing more, in the following fashion. They cut down the trees at a height of three feet from the ground ; then they burn the branches upon the trunk, and sow their corn between the fallen timber ; and in course of time they take out the roots. There are also fine meadows for supporting numbers of cattle. This port is very beautiful and a good one, with water enough for vessels, and shelter behind the islands. It lies in latitude 43°, and we have named it the Beautiful Port.[1] [PLATE LXXVII.]

[1] It is small wonder that the scenic charm as well as the material advantages of Gloucester appealed so strongly to the leaders of the expedition. Indeed, it was apparently the only place upon the entire coast of New England which seemed to them worthy of comparison with Port Royal as a possible site for future permanent settlement. That the possibility of removal from Port Royal to this place was actually under discussion is stated by Lescarbot (ii. 328) :

" Now while the said M. de Poutrincourt was there, in doubt whether

Le dernier de Septembre nous partismes du beau port, p. 120.
& passames par le cap S. Louys,[1] & fismes porter toute la nuit pour gaigner le cap blanc.[2] Au matin vne heure deuāt le iour nous nous trouuasmes à vau le vent du cap blanc en la baye blanche à huict pieds d'eau, esloignez de la terre vne lieue,[3] où nous mouillasmes l'ancre, pour n'en approcher de plus prés, en attēdant le iour ; & voir comme nous estions de la maree. Cependant enuoyasmes sonder auec nostre chalouppe, & ne trouua on plus de huit pieds d'eau : de façon qu'il fallut deliberer attendant le iour ce que nous pourrions faire. L'eau diminua iusques à cinq pieds, & nostre barque talonnoit

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On the last day of September we departed from the Beautiful Port, and passed cape St. Louis ;[1] and we sailed all night to reach the White Cape.[2] The next morning, an hour before daylight, we found ourselves in the White Bay[3] to leeward of White Cape, in eight feet of water, at a distance of a league from the land.[4] Here we cast anchor in order not to approach closer before daylight, and in order to see how we stood regarding the tide. Meanwhile we sent our shallop to make soundings, and they did not find more than eight feet of water, so that it was necessary to determine, while awaiting daylight, what we should do. The water fell to five feet, and

M. de Monts would come to settle a colony on this coast, as he wished to do, he ordered a plot of ground to be prepared, wherein to sow grain and plant vines. This he did with the aid of our apothecary, M. Louis Hebert, a man who, in addition to his skill in his art, takes great pleasure in cultivating the soil."

The latitude of the anchorage of the pinnace was a little over 42° 36′, showing that Champlain's calculations were less accurate than usual. The name *Le Beau port* did not persist ; but it is strange that so appropriate a name has not been revived for some suburb or public place in Gloucester, such as the public park recently established on the west side of the harbour.

[1] Brant Point, north of Plymouth. *Cf.* p. 340 *supra.*

[2] Cape Cod. *Cf.* p. 347 *supra.* [3] Cape Cod Bay.

[4] Billingsgate Shoal has only two fathoms some miles out from shore. *Cf.* the map, p. 347.

quelquefois sur le sable : toutesfois sans s'offencer n'y faire aucun dommage : Car la mer estoit belle, & neusmes point moins de trois pieds d'eau soubs nous, lors que la mer commença à croistre, qui nous donna beaucoup d'esperance.

Le iour estant venu nous apperceusmes vne coste de sable fort basse, où nous estions le trauers plus à vau le vēt, & d'où on enuoya la chalouppe pour sōder vers vn terrouer, qui est assez haut, où on iugeoit y auoir beaucoup d'eau ; & de fait on y en trouua sept brasses. Nous y fusmes mouiller l'ancre, & aussitost appareillasmes la chalouppe auec neuf ou dix
p. 121. hōmes, pour aller à terre voir vn lieu où iugiōs y auoir vn beau & bon port pour nous pouuoir sauuer si le vent se fut esleué plus grand qu'il n'estoit. Estant recogneu nous y entrasmes à 2. 3. & 4. brasses d'eau. Quand nous fusmes dedans, nous en trouuasmes 5. & 6. Il y auoit force huistres qui estoient tresbonnes, ce que n'auions encores apperceu, & le nommasmes

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our pinnace sometimes touched upon the sand, without, however, being injured or doing herself any damage; for the sea was calm; and we had not more than three feet of water under us, when the tide began to come in, which gave us great encouragement.

When day dawned we descried to leeward a very low sandy coast off which we lay. We sent the boat to make soundings in the direction of a tract of upland which is somewhat elevated, and where we judged there was much water; and in fact we found there seven fathoms. We went there and cast anchor, and at once prepared the shallop with nine or ten men to go on shore and examine a place where we judged there was a good, safe harbour, in which we might find safety should the wind become stronger. Having explored it, we entered with two, three, and four fathoms of water. When we were inside, we found five and six. There were plenty of oysters, of very good quality, which we had not hitherto seen; and

le port aux Huistres :[1] & est par la hauteur de 42. degrez de latitude. Il y vint à nous trois canots de sauuages. Ce iour le vent nous vint fauorable, qui fut cause que nous leuasmes l'ancre pour aller au Cap blanc,[2] distant de ce lieu de 5. lieues, au Nord vn quart du Nordest, & le doublasmes.

Le lendemain 2. d'Octobre arriuasmes deuant Malebarre,[3] où seiournasmes quelque temps pour le mauuais vent qu'il faisoit, durant lequel, le sieur de Poitrincourt auec la cha-

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we named the port Oyster Harbour.[1] It is in latitude 42°. There came to us three canoes of Indians. That day the wind was favourable, and for this reason we weighed anchor to go to White Cape,[2] distant from this place five leagues north a quarter north-east, and we doubled it.

The following day, the second of October, we arrived off Mallebarre,[3] where we remained some time on account of the bad weather we experienced. During this time the Sieur de

[1] From Gloucester they followed the Massachusetts coast as far south as cape St. Louis, the present Brant Point north of Plymouth (*cf.* map, p. 347), whence they set a course for White Cape (Cape Cod), but brought up near a harbour somewhere within Cape Cod Bay. Both Laverdière and Slafter identify this harbour as Barnstable, because it was clearly either Barnstable or Wellfleet, and they supposed that the latter had been called river of Ste. Suzanne the year before (cf. *supra*, p. 348). As we have identified the river of Ste. Suzanne with neither of these places, there is a free choice between them. All considerations favour Wellfleet. The expedition was sailing to Cape Cod on a route already known from the previous expedition, and the most northerly of the two places (*cf.* map, page 347) is therefore the more probable. Wellfleet again agrees much better with the five leagues from Cape Cod, and with the characteristics described by Champlain which do not accord at all with Barnstable. There is but one place in Cape Cod Bay where only a few feet of water can be found at a league from land, and this is Billingsgate shoal off Wellfleet. Further, behind Billingsgate Island, at Wellfleet, lies an area of deeper water, while at the inner harbour there are again several fathoms, as Champlain describes. At Barnstable there is nothing equivalent. Finally the map of 1607 places *Port aux huitres* clearly at Wellfleet, called on that of 1632 *R. des Escailles*, *i.e.* River of (Oyster) Shells. *Cf.* Plate LXXX.

[2] Cape Cod. [3] Nauset harbour. *Cf.* p. 349 *supra*.

louppe accompagné de 12. à 15. hommes, fut visiter le port,[1] où il vint audeuant de luy quelque 150. sauuages, en chantant & dansant, selon leur coustume. Apres auoir veu ce lieu nous nous en retournasmes en nostre vaisseau, où le vent venant bon, fismes voille le long de la coste courant au Su.

p. 122. *Continuation des susdites descouuertures : & ce qui y fut remarqué de singulier.*

CHAP. XIV.

COMME nous fusmes à quelque six lieues de Malebarre,[2] nous mouillasmes l'ancre proche de la coste, d'autant que n'auions bon vent.[3] Le long d'icelle nous aduisames des fumees que faisoient les sauuages : ce qui

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Poutrincourt, accompanied by twelve to fifteen men, paid a visit to the port in the shallop.[1] There came to meet him some 150 Indians, singing and dancing, in accordance with their custom. After having viewed this place we returned to our vessel, and, the wind coming fair, made sail along the coast, steering south.

CHAPTER XIV

Continuation of the above-mentioned discoveries ; and what of note was observed during these.

WHEN we were some six leagues from Mallebarre,[2] we cast anchor near the shore because the wind was not favourable.[3] Along this coast we observed smoke which the Indians were making ; and this made

[1] This visit is pictured on Champlain's map of Mallebarre, Plate LXXV, p. 358 *supra*.

[2] Nauset harbour.

[3] Champlain's distances are here greatly exaggerated, doubtless because measured largely by the dangers and difficulties he experienced on this coast. Thus, this anchorage could not have been lower down the coast

nous fit deliberer de les aller voir : pour cet effect on esquipa la chalouppe : Mais quād nous fusmes proches de la coste qui est areneuse, nous ne peusmes l'aborder : car la houlle estoit trop grande : ce que voyant les sauuages, ils mirent vn canot à la mer, & vindrent à nous 8. ou 9. en chantans, & faisans signes de la ioye qu'ils auoient de nous voir, & nous monstrerent que plus bas il y auoit vn port, où nous pourrions mettre nostre barque en seureté.

Ne pouuant mettre pied à terre, la chalouppe s'en reuint à la barque, & les sauuages retournerent à terre, qu'on auoit traicté humainement.

Le lendemain le vent estant fauorable nous cōtinuasmes nostre routte au Nord [1] 5. lieues, & neusmes pas plustost fait ce chemin, que nous trouuasmes 3. & 4. brasses d'eau estans esloignez vne lieue & demie de la coste : Et allans vn peu de p. 123.

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us decide to go and visit them. For this purpose the shallop was got ready; but when we were near the shore, which is sandy, we were unable to land, as the swell was too great. The Indians, seeing this, launched a canoe; and eight or nine of them came out to us, singing and indicating by signs the joy it gave them to see us; and they showed us that lower down was a port where we could place our pinnace in safety.

Being unable to land, the shallop came back to the pinnace, and the Indians, who had been kindly treated, returned to the shore.

The next day, the wind being fair, we continued our course to the north [1] five leagues, and we had no sooner gone this far than we found three and four fathoms of water at a distance of a league and a half from the shore. And going a little

than the bay shown at the right of his map on Plate LXXVIII, p. 421, which is that leading up to Pleasant Bay, but the distance is three, not six leagues from Nauset.

[1] Obviously a slip for "south." Here again the distance is too great, for the shoals among which they ran are not over three leagues from the anchorage.

l'auant, le fonds nous haussa tout à coup à brasse & demye & deux brasses, ce qui nous donna de l'apprehentiõ, voyant la mer briser de toutes parts, sans voir aucun passage par lequel nous pussions retourner sur nostre chemin : car le vent y estoit entierement contraire.

De façon qu'estans engagez parmy des brisans & bancs de sable, il fallut passer au hasart, selon que l'on pouuoit iuger y auoir plus d'eau pour nostre barque, qui n'estoit que quatre pieds au plus : & vinsmes parmy ces brisans iusques à 4. pieds & demy :[1] Enfin nous fismes tant, auec la grace de Dieu, que nous passames par dessus vne pointe de sable, qui iette prés de trois lieues à la mer, au Su Suest, lieu fort dangereux. Doublant ce cap que nous nõmasmes le cap batturier,[2] qui est à 12. ou[a] 13. lieues de Malebarre, nous mouillasmes

[a] L'original porte, *au*.

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farther, the depth suddenly lessened to a fathom and a half and two fathoms, which made us apprehensive, since the sea was breaking everywhere, and we could perceive no passage along which we could return upon our course; for the wind was altogether against us.

So it came about that, being caught among the breakers and sand-banks, we had to run at haphazard where one judged there was water enough for our pinnace, which drew but at the most four feet. We kept on among these breakers until we found four feet and a half.[1] Finally by God's favour we succeeded in passing over a sandy point which projects about three leagues into the sea to the south-south-east, making a very dangerous place. Doubling this cape, which we named Reef Cape,[2] and which is twelve or thirteen

[1] Lescarbot adds that their little vessel grounded two or three times, and was only carried forward by the waves; and that it was here their rudder was broken (ii. 330).

[2] Now called Pollock Rip Shoals (*cf.* map, p. 425). Reef Cape is the southern point of Monomoy, which is only some eight or nine leagues from Mallebarre, instead of the twelve or thirteen that Champlain makes it.

l'ancre à deux brasses & demye d'eau, d'autant que nous nous voiyons entournez de toutes parts de brisans & battures, reserué en quelques endroits où la mer ne fleurissoit pas beaucoup. On enuoya la chalouppe pour trouuer vn achenal, à fin d'aller à vn lieu que iugions estre celuy que les sauuages nous auoient donné à entendre : & creusmes aussi qu'il y auoit vne riuiere, où pourrions estre en seureté. p. 124.

Nostre chalouppe y estant, nos gens mirent pied à terre, & considererēt le lieu, puis reuinrent auec vn sauuage qu'ils amenerent, & nous dirent que de plaine mer nous y pourrions entrer, ce qui fut resolu ; & aussitost leuasmes l'ancre, & fusmes par la conduite du sauuage, qui nous pilotta, mouiller l'ancre à vne rade qui est deuant le port, à six brasses d'eau

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leagues from Mallebarre, we anchored in two and a half fathoms of water, inasmuch as we found ourselves surrounded on all sides by breakers and shoals, save only in certain places where the sea was not breaking very much. We sent the shallop to seek out a channel in order that we might go to a place which we concluded was the one indicated to us by the Indians. We also believed there was a river there where we could lie in safety.

When our shallop reached the place, our men landed and inspected the locality, after which they came back with an Indian whom they brought with them. They informed us that at high tide we could enter, and it was resolved to do so. We at once weighed anchor and, under the guidance of the Indian, who acted as our pilot, proceeded to anchor in a road-

Champlain's map of 1612 gives the name Cape Batturier to the end of Monomoy. There is every reason to believe, on geological grounds, that this point of Monomoy was not so long in Champlain's day as now. The details of the topography of this region have, of course, changed greatly since Champlain's day, but the general features remain much the same. *Cf.* the study by Henry Mitchell of the United States Coast Survey, published in the *Reports of the Survey* for 1871, 134, map 33, and for 1873, 103, maps; and Plate LXXVIII, p. 421 *infra*.

& bon fonds : car nous ne peusmes entrer dedans à cause que la nuit nous surprint.[1]

Le lendemain on enuoya mettre des balises sur le bout d'vn banc de sable qui est à l'embouchure du port : puis la plaine mer venant y entrasmes à deux brasses d'eau.[2] Comme nous y fusmes, nous louasmes Dieu d'estre en lieu de seureté. Nostre gouuernail s'estoit rompu, que l'on auoit accommodé auec des cordages, & craignions que parmy ces basses & fortes marees il ne rōpist de rechef, qui eut esté cause de nostre

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stead in front of the port, in six fathoms of water and good bottom ; for we could not go inside because night had overtaken us.[1]

The next day men were sent to place buoys upon the extremity of a sand-bank which lies at the harbour's mouth ; then at high tide we entered the place with two fathoms of water.[2] Once inside we gave praise to God for bringing us to a place of safety. Our rudder had broken and been mended with ropes, and we feared lest in the midst of

[1] Evidently they rounded the point of Monomoy and anchored among the shoals which lie west as well as east of that point. Thence they sent the boat to explore the way into Stage Harbour. Lescarbot adds some interesting details as to the meeting with the Indian guide, and the efforts of the Indian Secoudon, who was with them, to communicate with him, first by words which were not understood, and then by signs which were more successful. Lescarbot even adds the name of the man in charge of the boat, one Daniel Hay, " whose pleasure it is to display his courage among the dangers of the deep " (ii. 330). The roadstead where they anchored is shown by the letter M on Champlain's map on Plate LXXVIII, p. 421 *infra*.

[2] Stage Harbour, mapped by Champlain under the name of Port Fortuné. The port lies amidst beaches and sand-dunes, on the margin of an open, gently rolling country on which is spread the scattered neat village of Chatham, with its many summer residences.

The visit of the expedition to this place is appreciatively treated, and Champlain's two maps are reproduced in William C. Smith's *History of Chatham, Massachusetts* (Hyannis, Mass., 1909), though the author does not attempt to identify any but the obvious places. In the preparation of my own map, I have received much aid, especially in the local nomenclature, from Mr. J. T. Allison, Keeper of the Chatham Lights, and from Mr. Seth W. Hammond, of Chatham.

perte. Dedãs ce port il n'y a qu'vne brasse d'eau, & de plaine mer deux brasses; à l'Est y a vne baye qui refuit au Nort quelque trois lieues, dans laquelle y a vne isle & deux autres petits culs de sac, qui decorent le pays,[1] où il y a beaucoup de terres defrichees, & force petits costaux, où ils font leur labourage de bled & autres grains, dont ils viuent. Il y a p. 125. aussi de tresbelles vignes, quantité de noyers, chesnes, cyprés, & peu de pins. Tous les peuples de ce lieu sont fort amateurs du labourage, & font prouisiõ de bled d'Inde pour l'yuer, lequel ils conseruent en la façon qui ensuit.

Ils font des fosses sur le penchant des costaux dans le sable quelque cinq à six pieds plus ou moins, & prennent leurs bleds & autres grains qu'ils mettent dans de grands sacs d'herbe, qu'ils iettent dedans lesdites fosses, & les couurent

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these shallows and strong tides it should break again, which would have resulted in our destruction. Inside this harbour there is but one fathom of water, and at high tide two fathoms. Towards the east lies a bay which doubles to the north some three leagues, and therein is an island and two other little coves, which give beauty to the landscape.[1] Here there is much cleared land and many little hills, whereon the Indians cultivate corn and other grains on which they live. Here are likewise very fine vines, plenty of nut-trees, oaks, cypresses, and a few pines. All the inhabitants of this place are much given to agriculture, and lay up a store of Indian corn for the winter, which they preserve in the following manner.

In the sand on the slope of the hills they dig holes some five to six feet deep more or less, and place their corn and other grains in large grass sacks, which they throw into the said holes, and cover them with sand to a depth of three or

[1] The bay extending northward is obviously that designated L on Champlain's map, and the island is G; but despite the implication in the text that the two coves were in this bay, I think our author has here in mind the ponds A and H. See Plate LXXVIII, p. 421 *infra*.

de sable trois ou quatre pieds par dessus le superfice de la terre, pour en prendre à leur besoin, & ce conserue aussi bien qu'il scauroit faire en nos greniers.[1]

Nous vismes en ce lieu quelque cinq à six cens sauuages, qui estoient tous nuds, horsmis leur nature, qu'ils couurent d'vne petite peau de faon, ou de loup marin. Les femmes le sont aussi, qui couurēt la leur comme les hommes de peaux ou de fueillages. Ils ont les cheueux bien peignez & entrelassez en plusieurs façons, tant hōmes que femmes, à la maniere de ceux de Chouacoet ; & sont bien proportionnez de leurs corps, ayās le teinct oliuastre. Ils se parent de plumes, de patenostres de porceline, & autres ioliuetés qu'ils accommodent fort proprement en façon de broderie.[2] Ils

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four feet above the surface of the ground. They take away this grain according to their needs, and it is preserved as well as it would be in our granaries.[1]

At this place we saw some five to six hundred Indians who were all naked except for their privy parts, which they cover with a little piece of deer or sealskin. The women are the same, and, like the men, cover their parts with skins or leaves. Both men and women wear their hair neatly combed and braided in various ways, after the fashion of the Indians at Saco, and are well-proportioned in body, with olive-coloured skins. They adorn themselves with feathers, wampum beads, and other knick-knacks, which they arrange very neatly after the manner of embroidery.[2] Their arms

[1] This method of preserving corn was also noticed in 1620 by the Pilgrim Fathers. Bradford (cited by Slafter, *op. cit.*, ii. 121) writes that they found "heaps of sand newly padled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverce faire Indean baskets filled with corne, and some in eares, faire and good, of diverce collours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, haveing never seen any such before." Slafter also gives citations from early writers, showing the importance of this Indian corn to these Indians, and their method of using it.

[2] *Cf.* p. 326. Slafter (*op. cit.*, ii. 123) gives other references, to which may be added the notes in the accounts of the voyages of Gosnold,

ont pour armes des arcs, flesches & massues. Ils ne sont pas p. 126.
si grands chasseurs comme bons pescheurs & laboureurs.

Pour ce qui est de leur police, gouuernement & creance, nous n'en auons peu iuger, & croy qu'ils n'en ont point d'autre que nos sauuages Souriquois, & Canadiens, lesquels n'adorent n'y la lune n'y le soleil, ny aucune chose, & ne prient non plus que les bestes : [1] Bien ont ils parmy eux quelques gens qu'ils disent auoir intelligence auec le Diable, à qui ils ont grande croyance, lesquels leur disent tout ce qui leur doit aduenir, où ils mentent le plus souuent : Quelques fois ils peuuēt bien rencontrer, & leur dire des choses semblables à celles qui leur arriuent ; c'est pourquoy ils ont croyance en eux, comme s'ils estoient Prophetes, & ce ne sont que

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consist of bows, arrows, and clubs. They are not so much great hunters as good fishermen and tillers of the soil.

Regarding their polity, government, and religious belief, we were unable to form a judgment, and I believe that in this they do not differ from our Souriquois and Canadians, who worship neither moon nor sun nor any other thing, and pray no more than the beasts.[1] They have indeed among them certain persons who, they say, have communication with the devil, and in these they have great faith. These persons tell them all that is to happen, in which for the most part they lie. Sometimes they succeed in hitting it right, and in telling them things similar to what actually happens. This is why they have faith in these persons, as if they were prophets, although they are naught but scamps who inveigle them, as the

1602, Pring, 1603, and Waymouth, 1605. These accounts mention, in addition to the scant garments described by Champlain, their mantles of deer, beaver, or bearskin, which evidently were donned only in colder weather.

[1] This was the usual impression of Europeans on their first contact with the American Indians, but while largely correct, it was not wholly so. See the article Religion in *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1910) ; references given by Slafter (*op. cit.*, ii. 124) ; and Le Clercq's *New Relation of Gaspesia* (Champlain Society's ed.), 142–3.

canailles qui les eniaulēt comme les Ægyptiens & Bohemiens font les bonnes gens de vilage. Ils ont des chefs à qui ils obeissent en ce qui est de la guerre, mais non autrement, lesquels trauaillent, & ne tiennent non plus de rang que leurs compagnons. Chacun n'a de terre que ce qui luy en faut pour sa nourriture.[1]

Leurs logemens sont separez les vns des autres selon les terres que chacun d'eux peut occuper, & sont grands, faits en
p. 127. rond, couuerts de natte faite de fenne ou fueille de bled d'Inde,[2] garnis seulement d'vn lict ou deux, esleués vn pied de terre, faicts auec quantité de petits bois qui sont pressez les vns contre les autres, dessus lesquels ils dressent vn estaire à la façon d'Espaigne (qui est vne maniere de natte espoisse de deux ou trois doits) sur quoy ils se couchent.[3] Ils ont grand

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Egyptians and gypsies do the simple village folk. They have chiefs whom they obey in regard to matters of warfare but not in anything else. These chiefs work, and assume no higher rank than their companions. Each possesses only sufficient land for his own support.[1]

Their lodges are separated from one another according to the extent of land that each is able to occupy. They are lofty, circular, and covered with matting made of grass or husks of Indian corn.[2] Their only furniture consists of a bed or two raised one foot from the floor, and made of a number of saplings laid one against the other, whereon they place a reed-mat, in the Spanish manner (which is a kind of thick mattress two or three fingers in depth), and upon this they sleep.[3]

[1] In this paragraph we have a good example of Champlain's power to seize upon essentials and express them succinctly. All these matters were prominent and important in Indian life, and are fully confirmed from other sources.

[2] These were the meaner sort of wigwams, according to a note by Godkin cited by Slafter (*op. cit.*, ii. 124), and these Indians possessed also a better sort covered by the bark of trees.

[3] This construction of the beds is described also by other early writers, as Slafter notes (*op. cit.*, ii. 125).

nombre de pulces en esté, mesme parmy les champs : Vn iour en nous allant pourmener nous en prismes telle quãtité, que nous fusmes contraints de changer d'habits.

Tous les ports, bayes & costes depuis Chouacoet sont remplis de toutes sortes de poisson, semblable à celuy que nous auons deuers nos habitations ; & en telle abondãce, que ie puis asseurer qu'il n'estoit iour ne nuict que nous ne vissions & entendissions passer aux costez de nostre barque, plus de mille marsouins, qui chassoient le menu poisson. Il y a aussi quantité de plusieurs especes de coquillages, & principalement d'huistres. La chasse des oyseaux y est fort abondante.[1]

Ce seroit vn lieu fort propre pour y bastir & ietter les fondemens d'vne republique si le port estoit vn peu plus profond & l'entree plus seure qu'elle n'est.

Deuant que sortir du port l'on accommoda nostre gouuer- p. 128.

They have a great many fleas in summer, even in the fields. One day when we were out walking, we attracted such a number of them that we were obliged to change our clothes.

All the harbours, bays, and coasts from Saco onward are filled with every kind of fish like those we have near our settlements, and in such abundance that I can guarantee there was never a day or a night during which we did not see and hear more than a thousand porpoises passing alongside our pinnace and chasing the smaller fry. Here are likewise plenty of shellfish of several kinds, and especially oysters. Game birds are very plentiful.[1]

This would prove a very good site for laying and constructing the foundations of a state, if the harbour were a little deeper and the entrance safer than it is.

Before leaving port our rudder was repaired, and we made

[1] Lescarbot also comments with enthusiasm upon the abundance of game and fish in this region, from which it would appear that the expedition must have fared well during its stay at Port Fortuné (ii. 331).

nail, & fit on faire du pain de farines qu'auions apportees pour viure, quand nostre biscuit nous manqueroit. Cependant on enuoya la chalouppe auec cinq ou six hommes & vn sauuage, pour voir si on pourroit trouuer vn passage plus propre pour sortir, que celuy par où nous estions venus.

Ayant fait cinq ou six lieues & abbordāt la terre, le sauuage s'en fuit, qui auoit eu crainte que l'ō ne l'ēmenast à d'autres sauuages plus au midy, qui sont leurs ennemis, à ce qu'il donna à entendre à ceux qui estoient dans la chalouppe, lesquels estans de retour, nous firent rapport que iusques où ils auoient esté il y auoit au moins trois brasses d'eau, & que plus outre il n'y auoit ny basses ny battures.[1]

On fit donc diligence d'accommoder nostre barque & faire du pain pour quinze iours. Cependant le sieur de Poitrincourt accompagné de dix ou douze arquebusiers visita tout le pays circonuoisin, d'où nous estions, lequel est fort

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bread from flour we had brought for our subsistence when our biscuit gave out. Meanwhile we sent the shallop with five or six men and an Indian to see whether they could find a passage more suitable for leaving than that by which we had entered.

When they had gone five or six leagues, and were close inshore, the Indian took to flight. He gave those in the shallop to understand that he was afraid lest he should be carried off to other Indians farther south who are enemies of his tribe. Upon their return they reported that as far as they had gone, there were at least three fathoms of water, and that farther on there were neither shoals nor reefs.[1]

We accordingly made haste to repair our pinnace and to provide bread for fifteen days. Meanwhile the Sieur de Poutrincourt, accompanied by ten or twelve musketeers, visited all the surrounding country, which is very fine, as I

[1] The distance stated would indicate that the boat reached Point Gammon (*cf.* the map on p. 425), which would form a natural turning-point.

beau, comme i'ay dit cy dessus, où nous vimes quantité de maisonnettes ça & la.[1]

Quelque 8. ou 9. iours aprés le sieur de Poitrincourt s'allant pourmener, comme il auoit fait auparauant, nous apperceusmes que les sauuages abbatoient leurs cabannes & enuoyoient dans les bois leurs femmes, enfans & prouisions, p. 129. & autres choses qui leur estoient necessaires pour leur vie, qui nous donna soubçon de quelque mauuaise intentiō, & qu'ils vouloyēt entreprēdre sur nos gens qui trauailloient à terre, & où ils demeuroient toutes les nuits, pour conseruer ce qui ne se pouuoit embarquer le soir qu'auec beaucoup de peine ; ce qui estoit biē vray : car ils resolurēt entre eux, qu'aprés que toutes leurs commoditez seroient en seureté, ils les viendroient surprendre à terre à leur aduantage le mieux qu'il leur seroit possible, & enleuer tout ce qu'ils auoient. Que si d'auenture ils les trouuoiēt sur leurs gardes, ils vien-

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have already stated. Here and there we saw a good number of small lodges.[1]

Some eight or nine days later, on the Sieur de Poutrincourt's going out walking as he had done before, we observed that the Indians were taking down their wigwams and were sending into the woods their wives, children and provisions, and other necessaries of life. This made us suspect some evil design, and that they wished to attack our people who were working on shore, where they remained every night to guard whatever could not be taken on board in the evening except with much labour. This proved to be quite true; for they had resolved among themselves that, when all their goods were in safety, they would surprise the men on shore as best they could, and would carry off everything these men had there. But if perchance they found them on their guard, they would

[1] The route followed on this little journey is indicated on Champlain's map on Plate LXXVIII, p. 421, under the letter V.

droient en signe d'amitié comme ils souloiēt faire, en quittant leurs arcs & flesches.

Or sur ce que le sieur de Poitrincourt auoit veu, & l'ordre qu'on luy dit qu'ils tenoient quand ils auoiēt enuie de iouer quelque mauuais tour, nous passames par des cabannes, où il y auoit quantité de femmes, à qui on auoit donné des bracelets, & bagues pour les tenir en paix, & sans crainte ; & à la plus part des hommes apparens & antiens des haches, cousteaux, & autres choses, dont ils auoiēt besoing : ce qui les contentoit fort, payant le tout en danses & gambades, auec
p. 130. des harangues que nous n'entendiōs point. Nous passames partout sans qu'ils eussent asseurance de nous rien dire : ce qui nous resiouist fort, les voyans si simples en apparence, comme ils montroient.

Nous reuinmes tout doucement à nostre barque, accompagnez de quelques sauuages. Sur le chemin nous en ren-

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come with signs of friendship, as they were accustomed to do, laying aside their bows and arrows.

Now in view of what the Sieur de Poutrincourt had seen, and of the mode of procedure he had been told they observed when they wished to do a bad turn, we passed among their wigwams where were a number of women, to whom we gave bracelets and rings, in order to keep them quiet and from becoming afraid of us, while to the majority of the prominent and older men we gave axes, knives, and other articles of which they stood in need. This pleased them much, repaying for all by dances, gambols, and speeches, which latter we did not in the least understand. We went about everywhere without their having the boldness to say anything to us. It amused us greatly to see them look so innocent as they made themselves appear.

We came back very quietly to our pinnace, accompanied by a few Indians. On the way we met with several small

cōtrasmes plusieurs petites trouppes qui s'amassoient peu à peu auec leurs armes, & estoient fort estonnez de nous voir si auant dans le pays ; & ne pensoient pas que vinssions de faire vne ronde de prés de 4. à 5. lieues de circuit au tour de leur terre, & passans prés de nous ils trembloiēt de crainte que on ne leur fist desplaisir, comme il estoit en nostre pouuoir ; mais nous ne le fismes pas, bien que cognussions leur mauuaise volonté. Estans arriuez où nos ouuriers trauailloient, le sieur de Poitrincourt demanda si toutes choses estoient en estat pour s'opposer aux desseins de ces canailles.

Il commanda de faire embarquer tout ce qui estoit à terre : ce qui fut fait, horsmis celuy qui faisoit le pain qui demeura pour acheuer vne fournee, qui restoit, & deux autres hommes auec luy. On leur dit que les sauuages auoient quelque mauuaise intention & qu'ils fissent diligence, afin de s'embarquer le soir ensuiuant, scachans qu'ils ne mettoient en

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troops who were gradually collecting together, fully armed, and were much surprised to see us so far inland, little thinking that we had just made a tour of from four to five leagues through their country. When passing near us they trembled for fear lest we should harm them, which it was in our power to do ; but we did nothing, although we were aware of their evil intentions. On reaching the spot where our men were at work, the Sieur de Poutrincourt asked if all things were in readiness to oppose the designs of these rascals.

He gave orders for every one on shore to be taken on board : which was done, except that the man who was making the bread remained behind to finish a baking, and two other men with him. They were told that the Indians had some evil design, and that they should make haste in order to come on board in the evening, as it was known that the Indians

p. 131. execution leur volonté que la nuit, ou au point du iour, qui est l'heure de leur surprinse en la pluspart de leurs desseins.

Le soir estant venu, le sieur de Poitrincourt commanda qu'on enuoyast la chalouppe à terre pour querir les hommes qui restoient : ce qui fut fait aussitost que la maree le peut permettre, & dit on à ceux qui estoient à terre, qu'ils eussent à s'embarquer pour le subiect dont l'on les auoit aduertis, ce qu'ils refuserēt, quelques remonstrāces qu'on leur peust faire, & des risques où ils se mettoient, & de la desobeissance qu'ils portoient à leur chef. Ils n'en feirēt aucū estat, horsmis vn seruiteur du sieur de Poitrincourt, qui s'embarqua, mais deux autres se desembarquerent de la chalouppe qui furent trouuer les trois autres, qui estoient à terre, lesquels estoient demeurez pour manger des galettés qu'ils prindrent sur le pain, que l'on auoit fait. Ne voulans donc faire ce qu'on leur disoit, la chalouppe s'en reuint à bort sans le dire au sieur de

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only put their plans into execution at night or at daybreak, which is the hour for making surprises in most of their schemes.

The evening having come, the Sieur de Poutrincourt ordered the shallop to be sent ashore to fetch the men who were left. This was done as soon as the tide would permit, and those on shore were told that they must embark for the reason already given them. This they refused to do despite the remonstrances made to them on the risks they were running and the disobedience they were showing to their chief. To these they paid no attention, except a servant of the Sieur de Poutrincourt, who came aboard; but two others disembarked from the boat and went off to the three on shore, who remained to eat some biscuits made at the same time as the bread. Since these were unwilling to do what they were told, the shallop returned alongside, but without informing the Sieur

Poitrincourt qui reposoit & pensoit qu'ils fussent tous dedans le vaisseau.[1]

Le lendemain au matin 15. d'Octobre les sauuages ne faillirēt de venir voir en quel estat estoient nos gens, qu'ils trouuerent endormis, horsmis vn qui estoit auprés du feu. Les voyās en cet estat ils vindrent doucement par dessus vn p. 132. petit costau au nombre de 400. & leur firent vne telle salue de flesches, qu'ils ne leur donnerent pas le loisir de se releuer, sans estre frappez à mort : & se sauuant le mieux qu'ils pouuoient vers nostre barque, crians, à l'ayde on nous tuë, vne partie tomba morte en l'eau : les autres estoient tout lardez de coups de flesches, dont l'vn mourut quelque temps aprés.[2] Ces sauuages menoient vn bruit desesperé,

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de Poutrincourt who was asleep, and who believed they were all on board the vessel.[1]

The next morning, the fifteenth of October, the Indians did not fail to come and see in what state were our men, whom they found asleep, except one who was before the fire. Seeing them in this condition, the Indians, to the number of four hundred, came quietly over a little hill, and shot such a salvo of arrows at them as to give them no chance of recovery before they were struck dead. Fleeing as fast as they could towards our pinnace, and crying out, "Help, help, they are killing us," some of them fell dead in the water, while the rest were all pierced with arrows, of whom one died a short time afterwards.[2] These Indians made

[1] Lescarbot, as usual, gives interesting details, mentioning that Poutrincourt, to impress the Indians, caused two men to march before him, "making play with two swords and performing therewith many a flourish"; but adds that the Indians were more astonished to see that the French muskets could "pierce thick logs of wood, on which their arrows could not make so much as a scratch" (ii. 332).

[2] Lescarbot (ii. 334–7) states that five men were on shore, of whom two were killed on land and a third in the water, while a fourth died of his wounds later at Port Royal. The fifth, though he had an arrow in his

auec des hurlemens tels que c'estoit chose espouuantable à ouir.

Sur ce bruit, & celuy de nos gens, la sentinelle qui estoit en nostre vaisseau s'escria, aux armes l'on tue nos gens : Ce qui fit que chacun se saisit promptemēt des siennes, & quant & quant nous nous embarquasmes en la chalouppe quelque 15. ou 16. pour aller à terre : Mais ne pouuans l'abborder à cause d'vn banc de sable qu'il y auoit entre la terre & nous, nous nous iettasmes en l'eau & passames à gay de ce banc à la grād terre la portee d'vn mousquet. Aussitost que nous y fusmes, ces sauuages nous voyans à vn trait d'arc, prirent la fuitte dans les terres : De les poursuiure c'estoit en vain, car

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a desperate row, with war-whoops which it was terrible to hear.

At this noise, and that of our men, the sentinel on our vessel cried out, "To arms; they are killing our men." Thereupon each quickly seized his weapons, and at the same time some fifteen or sixteen of us embarked in the shallop to go ashore. But being unable to land on account of a sand-bank which lay between us and the shore, we jumped into the water and waded from this bank to the mainland, a distance of a musket-shot. As soon as we reached it, the Indians, seeing us within bowshot, fled inland. To pursue them was useless, for they are wonderfully swift. All we could do

breast, escaped this time, but "better would it have been for him to die," for he was the same Du Val who later was hanged at Quebec for conspiracy against Champlain. Lescarbot adds: "As for this disaster, it was caused by the folly and disobedience of one whom I will not name, for that he died there; he was wont to play the braggart among some young fellows who put too much faith in him, but who otherwise were good-hearted enough; and because they would not let him get drunk, he had sworn, as was his fashion, that he would not return to the long-boat, nor did he, for this very man was found dead face downwards, with a little dog upon his back, both transfixed and transpierced by the same arrow." This person was probably one of the young noblemen who accompanied Poutrincourt to Acadia, for the sailors would hardly have dared to disobey orders.

ils sont merueilleusement vistes. Tout ce que nous peusmes faire, fut de retirer les corps morts & les enterrer aupres d'vne croix qu'on auoit plantee le iour d'auparauant, puis d'aller p. 133. d'vn costé & d'autre voir si nous n'ē verrions point quelques vns, mais nous perdismes nostre temps : Quoy voyans, nous nous en retournasmes. Trois heures aprés ils reuindrent à nous sur le bord de la mer. Nous leur tirasmes plusieurs coups de petits espoirs de fonte verte : & cōme ils entendoient le bruit ils se tapissoient en terre pour éuiter le coup. En derision de nous ils abbatirent la croix, & desenterrerent les corps : ce qui nous donna vn grand desplaisir, & fit que nous fusmes a eux pour la seconde fois : mais ils s'en fuirent comme ils auoient fait auparauant.[1] Nous redressasmes la croix & renterrasmes les morts qu'ils auoient iettés ça & la parmy des bruieres, où ils mirent le feu pour les brusler, & nous en reuinsmes sans auoir rien fait cōtre eux non plus

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was to carry off the dead bodies and bury them near a cross which had been set up the day before, and then to look about to see whether we could catch sight of any Indians; but in this we wasted our time. Realising this we returned. Three hours later they reappeared on the shore. We discharged several shots at them from our little brass cannon; and whenever they heard the report, they threw themselves flat on the ground to avoid the charge. In derision of us they pulled down the cross, and dug up the bodies, which displeased us greatly, and made us go after them a second time; but they fled as they had done before.[1] We again set up the cross, and reinterred the bodies, which they had scattered here and there among the heaths, where they had kindled a fire to burn them. We returned without having accomplished more

[1] Lescarbot (ii. 334–7) mentions among those who sprang into the boat, Champlain, Robert Gravé, Daniel Hay, the surgeon, the apothecary [M. Hébert], the trumpeter, Poutrincourt, and the latter's son, Biencourt.

que l'autre fois,[a] voyans bien qu'il n'y auoit gueres d'apparēce de s'en vēger pour ce coup, & qu'il failloit remettre la partie quand il plairoit à Dieu.

Le 16. du mois nous partismes du port Fortuné qu'auions nommé de ce nom pour le malheur qui nous y arriua.[1] Ce lieu est par la haulteur de 41. degré & vn tiers de latitude, & à quelque 12. ou 13. lieues de Malebarre.[2]

[PLANCHE (HORS TEXTE): PORT FORTUNÉ.]

[a] D'autres exemplaires portent: *sans faire aucun effect comme nous auions esté l'autre fois.*

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than before, seeing clearly that there was hardly any chance of taking vengeance for this blow, and that we must postpone the matter until it should please God.

On the sixteenth of the month we set out from Misfortune harbour, so named by us on account of the misfortune which happened to us there.[1] This place is in latitude 41° 20′, and distant some twelve or thirteen leagues from Mallebarre.[2] [PLATE LXXVIII.]

He states that it was in this affair the young Robert Gravé lost three fingers by the bursting of an overloaded musket, though Champlain places this incident some days later (*cf.* p. 426 *infra*). Lescarbot's account is more vivid than Champlain's: "This rascally crew came back to the place of their murderous deed, uprooted the Cross, dug up one of the dead, took off his shirt and put it on, holding up the spoils which they had carried off; and with all this they also turned their backs to the long-boat and made mock at us by taking sand in their two hands and casting it between their buttocks, yelping the while like wolves. This mightily enraged our men, who spared not to fire on them with cannon; but the distance was very great, and the savages had already learned the trick of throwing themselves to earth when they saw the match applied, so that we could not tell whether they had been hurt or not."

[1] Misfortune Harbour was the Stage Harbour of to-day. *Cf.* pp. 425 and 428 *infra.*

[2] The distance from Nauset is too great, for it is not more than nine leagues even around Monomoy. The latitude is too high, being really 40° 40′.

L'incommodité du temps ne nous permettant, pour lors, de faire d'auantage de des- p. 134.
couuertures, nous fit resoudre de retourner en l'habitation. Et ce qui nous arriua iusques en icelle

CHAP. XV.

COMME nous eusmes fait quelques six ou sept lieues nous eusmes cognoissance d'vne isle que nous nommasmes la soupçonneuse, pour auoir eu plusieurs fois croyance de loing que se fut autre chose qu'vne isle,[1] puis le vent nous vint contraire, qui nous fit relascher au lieu d'où nous estions partis, auquel nous fusmes deux ou trois iours sans que durant ce temps il vint aucū sauuage se presenter à nous.

Le 20. partismes de rechef, & rengeant la coste au Surouest prés de 12. lieues, où passames proche d'vne riuiere qui est

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CHAPTER XV

The inclemency of the weather not permitting us at this time to make further discoveries, we resolved for that reason to return to the settlement: and what happened to us until we reached it.

AFTER we had gone some six or seven leagues we caught sight of an island which we named the Dubious island, since from a distance we several times thought it was something else than an island.[1] Then the wind came against us, which made us put back to the place whence we had come; and there we remained two or three days, during which time none of the Indians came to visit us.

On the twentieth we set out again, and coasting along to the south-west about twelve leagues, passed near a river which

[1] Laverdière and Slafter both identify it as Martha's Vineyard, but this seems out of harmony with the implication of Champlain's words, and with the use of the term *Isle Douteuse* by Lescarbot (ii. 339), implying doubt as to whether it was an island or something different. Further, Champlain on his map of 1612 represents it as a small island much to the eastward of land which seems intended for Martha's Vineyard. This

petite & de difficile abord, à cause des basses & rochers qui sont à l'entree, que i'ay nommée de mon nom.[1] Ce que nous vismes de ces costes, sont terres basses & sablonneuses. Le

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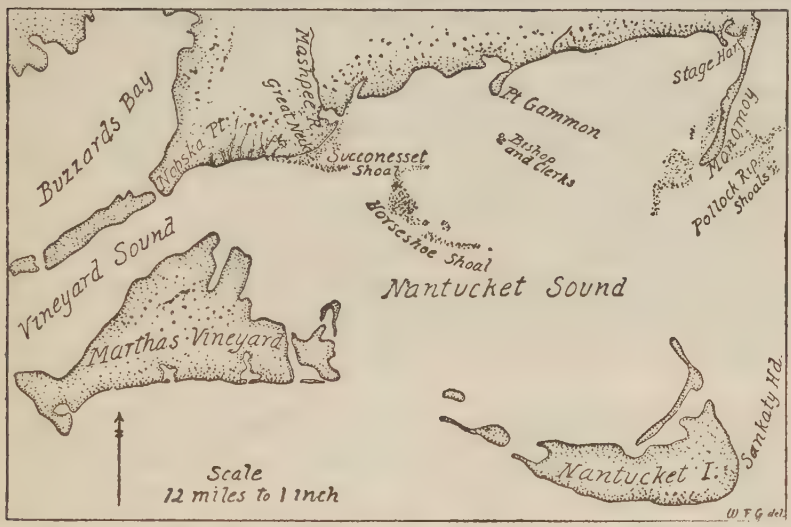
is small and difficult to approach on account of shoals and rocks which lie at its mouth. To this I gave my own name.[1] What we saw of these shores were low and sandy lands. The

object, which, as Champlain's map shows, did turn out to be an island, was therefore probably an island-like shoal—an island awash—one of the many in Nantucket Sound. In the position of the island on his map lies *Horseshoe Shoal*, of which one part, marked on the accompanying map



by a cross, now lies almost at the surface, and in Champlain's day was probably well above it.

[1] This Laverdière identifies with the Mashpee River, which agrees with Champlain's topography on Plate LXXXI in the portfolio. I think that Cape Ste. Elaine on that map was the high land (nearly 200 feet) at Nobska Point, dimly seen from near Horseshoe Shoal when they were driven off-shore by the wind. The point just south of this R. de Champlain would then represent the Succonesset Shoal, and the round cove, the low region full of streams, ponds, and bays between Great Neck and Nobska Point. The large opening towards the south-west with the many islands would then be Vineyard Sound, and the projecting point at the extreme south-west would be Martha's Vineyard, thought from its lowness to lie farther away than it really does. Nantucket Island is omitted altogether by Champlain.

vent nous vint de rechef contraire, & fort impetueux, qui nous fit mettre vers l'eau, ne pouuans gaigner ny d'vn costé ny d'autre, lequel enfin s'apaisa vn peu, & nous fut fauorable : mais ce ne fut que pour relascher encore au port Fortuné, dont la coste, bien qu'elle soit basse, ne laisse d'estre belle & bonne, toutesfois de difficile abbord, n'ayant aucunes re- p. 135.
traictes, les lieux fort batturiers, & peu d'eau à prés de deux lieues de terre. Le plus que nous en trouuasmes, ce fut en quelques fosses 7. à 8. brasses, encore cela ne duroit que la longueur du cable, aussitost l'on reuenoit à 2. ou 3. brasses, & ne s'y fie qui voudra qu'il ne l'aye bien recogneuë la sonde à la main.

Estant relaschez au port, quelques heures aprés le fils de Pontgraué appelé Robert, perdit vne main en tirant vn mousquet qui se creua en plusieurs pieces sans offencer aucun de ceux qui estoient auprés de luy.[1]

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wind again came ahead, and very strong, which made us steer towards the sea, being unable to advance either on one tack or the other. But finally it fell a little and was favourable to us, but only for putting again into Misfortune harbour. The coast here though low is fine and good, yet difficult of access, there being no shelters, with reefs everywhere, and little water at a distance of two leagues from land. The most we found was, in certain holes, seven to eight fathoms ; but this did not last more than a cable's length, and suddenly one was back to two or three fathoms. No one should venture here without first surveying the coast lead in hand.

Some hours after we had put into the harbour, Pont-Gravé's son named Robert lost a hand in firing off a musket, which burst into many pieces, but did not injure any of those near him.[1]

[1] Lescarbot (ii. 336) makes this incident part of the encounter with the Indians, described on pp. 420-3 *supra* ; but Champlain is probably correct.

Or voyant tousiours le vent contraire & ne nous pouuans mettre en la mer. Nous resolumes cependant d'auoir quelques sauuages de ce lieu pour les emmener en nostre habitation & leur faire moudre du bled à vn moulin à bras, pour punition de l'assacinat qu'ils auoiēt commis en la personne de cinq ou six de nos gens : mais que cela ce peust faire les armes en la main, il estoit fort malaysé, d'autāt que quād on alloit à eux en deliberation de se battre, ils prenoient la fuite, & s'en alloient dans les bois, où on ne les pouuoit attraper. Il fallut donc auoir recours aux finesses : & voicy comme nous aduisames, Qu'il failloit lors qu'ils viendroiēt pour rechercher
p. 136. amitié auec nous les amadouer en leur montrant des patinostres & autres bagatelles, & les asseurer plusieurs fois : puis prendre la chalouppe bien armee, & des plus robustes & forts hommes qu'eussiōs, auec chacun vne chaine de patinostres & vne brasse de meche [1] au bras, & les mener à terre, où estans, & en faisant semblant de petuner auec eux (chacun

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Now as the wind was constantly against us, and we were unable to put to sea, we determined in the meantime to seize a few Indians of this place, in order to take them to our settlement and make them grind corn at a hand-mill as a punishment for the murderous assault committed upon five or six of our men. But to do this when we were armed was very difficult, since whenever we went to them prepared to fight, they ran away, and betook themselves to the woods where we could not catch them. It was necessary, therefore, to resort to stratagem, and this is what we decided : that when they should come to make friends with us again, we should coax them, by showing them beads and other trifles, and should reassure them repeatedly ; then we should take the shallop well armed, and the stoutest and strongest men we had, each with a chain of beads and a fathom of match [1] on his arm, and should set these men on shore, where, pretending

[1] The match was a string of tow treated to keep aglow, and hence provide fire for gunners, smokers and others for hours together.

ayant vn bout de sa meche allumé, pour ne leur donner soupçon, estãt l'ordinaire de porter du feu au bout d'vne corde pour allumer le petum) les amadoueroient par douces paroles pour les attirer dans la chalouppe ; & que s'ils n'y vouloient entrer, que s'en aprochãt chacun choisiroit son homme, & en luy mettant les patinostres au col, luy mettroit aussi en mesme temps la corde pour les y tirer par force : Que s'ils tempestoient trop, & qu'on n'en peust venir à bout ; tenant bien la corde on les poignarderoit : Et que si d'auanture il en eschapoit quelques vns, il y auroit des hommes à terre pour charger à coups d'espee sur ceux : Cependant en nostre barque on tiendroit prestes les petites pieces pour tirer sur leurs compagnons, au cas qu'il en vint les secourir ; à la faueur desquelles la chalouppe se pourroit retirer en asseurance. Ce qui fut fort bien executé ainsi qu'on l'auoit proposé.[1] [PLANCHE (HORS TEXTE) : LXXIX.]

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to smoke with them (each with one end of his match alight, in order not to arouse suspicion, it being customary to carry light at the end of a cord for lighting the tobacco), we were to coax them with soft words in order to draw them into the shallop ; and, should they be unwilling to enter, each of our men as he approached was to choose his man, and throwing the beads about his neck should at the same moment put a cord around the man to drag him on board by force ; but should they raise too great a commotion, and our men be unable to master them, then, tightening the cord well, our men were to stab them ; and if by chance any should escape, there were to be men on shore to charge against them with swords. Meanwhile on board our pinnace the small cannon were to be in readiness to fire upon their companions in case any should come to their assistance, under cover of which cannon the shallop would be able to withdraw in safety. This was very well carried out, as arranged.[1] [PLATE LXXIX.]

[1] This leaves us in the dark as to what happened ; but on p. 431 he speaks of their own wounded, and on p. 436 of the Indians killed at Port

p. 137. Quelques iours aprés que ces choses furent passees, il vint des sauuages trois à trois, quatre à quatre sur le bort de la mer, faisans signe que nous allassions à eux: mais nous voiyons bien leur gros qui estoit en embuscade au dessoubs d'vn costau derriere des buissons, & croy qu'ils ne desiroient que de nous attraper en la chalouppe pour descocher vn nombre de flesches sur nous, & puis s'en fuir: toutesfois le sieur de Poitrincourt ne laissa pas d'y aller auec dix de nous autres, biē equipez & en resolutiō de les cōbatre si l'occasiō se presentoit. Nous fusmes dessendre par vn endroit que iugiōs estre hors de leur ēbuscade, où ils ne nous pouuoiēt surprēdre. Nous y mismes trois ou quatre pied

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Several days after these things had happened, some Indians came to the sea-shore by threes and fours, making signs to us to go to them. But we saw distinctly their main body, which was in ambush under a hillock behind some bushes; and I believe their only desire was to catch us in the shallop in order to discharge a number of arrows at us, and then to take to flight. Nevertheless, the Sieur de Poutrincourt went ashore with ten of us who were well armed and resolved to fight them if occasion arose. We proceeded to land at a spot which we thought outside their ambush, where they could not surprise us. Three or four of us landed along with

Fortuné. Lescarbot (ii. 338) adds that overhaste frustrated the design to capture the Indians, though six or seven of them were "hacked and hewed in pieces." It is no doubt this incident that is represented on the picture-plan on Plate LXXIX, p. 428, though the detail is inaccurate, as noted in the explanation of the plan under the letters L, M.

The two encounters at Mallebarre and Port Fortuné, resulting fatally to Frenchmen, were, as Slafter has pointed out, really provoked by the cupidity of the Indians, of whose character in this respect Champlain (p. 357) expressed a most unfavourable opinion. It is evident that the French had a much higher regard for the Micmacs and Etechemins of Acadia. It is not improbable, indeed, that the difference in their relations with the Indians of the two regions was one of the influences which kept the French from attempting a settlement south of Acadia.

à terre auec le sieur de Poitrincourt : le reste ne bougea de la chalouppe pour la cōseruer & tenir preste à vn besoin. Nous fusmes sur vne butte & autour des bois pour voir si nous descouuririons plus à plain ladite embuscade. Comme ils nous virent aller si librement à eux ils leuerent le siege p. 138. & furent en autres lieux, que ne peusmes descouurir, & des quatre sauuages n'en vismes plus que deux, qui s'en alloient tout doucement. En se retirant ils nous faisoient signe qu'eussions à mener nostre chalouppe en autre lieu, iugeant qu'elle n'estoit pas à propos pour leur dessein. Et nous voyans aussi qu'ils n'auoient pas enuie de venir à nous, nous nous rēbarquasmes & allasmes où ils nous monstroient, qui estoit la seconde embuscade qu'ils auoient faite, taschant de nous attirer en signe d'amitié à eux, sans armes : ce qui pour lors ne nous estoit permis : neantmoins nous fusmes assez proches d'eux sans voir ceste embuscade, qui n'en estoit pas esloignee, à nostre iugement. Comme nostre

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the Sieur de Poutrincourt ; the rest did not leave the shallop, in order to defend it and hold it ready in case of emergency. We ascended a knoll and walked round the woods to see if we could discover more clearly the said ambush. When they saw us coming towards them so freely they raised the siege, and went to other places which we were unable to discover ; and of the four Indians, we saw only two, who went away quite quietly. While departing they made signs to us to take our shallop elsewhere, judging it to be in the way of their plan. And we, seeing also that they did not wish to come to us, embarked again and went to the spot they indicated, which was the second ambush they had made in their endeavour to allure us in sign of friendship to come to them unarmed. For the nonce this was not allowed to happen to us ; nevertheless we approached fairly close to them without seeing this ambush, which in our opinion was not far distant. As

chalouppe approcha de terre, ils se mirent en fuitte, & ceux de l'embuscade aussi, aprés qui nous tirasmes quelques coups de mousquets, voyant que leur intention ne tendoit qu'à nous deceuoir par caresses, en quoy ils se trompoient : car nous recognoissions bien qu'elle estoit leur volonté, qui ne tendoit qu'à mauuais fin. Nous nous retirasmes à nostre barque aprés auoir fait ce qu'il nous fut possible.

Ce iour le sieur de Poitrincourt resolut de s'en retourner à nostre habitation pour le subiect de 4. ou 5. mallades & p. 139. blessez, à qui les playes empiroient à faute d'onguens ; car nostre Chirurgien n'en auoit aporté que biẽ peu, qui fut grãde faute à luy, & desplaisir aux malades & à nous aussi : d'autant que l'infection de leurs blesseures estoit si grãde en vn petit vaisseau comme le nostre, qu'on ne pouuoit presque durer : & craignions qu'ils engendrassent des maladies : & aussi que n'auiõs plus de viures que pour faire 8. ou 10. iournees de l'aduant, quelque retranchemẽt que l'on fist, &

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our shallop neared the shore, they took to flight, as did also those from the ambush, at whom we fired some musket-shots, seeing their intention was but to deceive us by cajolery. In this they failed, for we saw clearly their intention, which had only mischief in view. We withdrew to our pinnace, having accomplished what we could.

That same day the Sieur de Poutrincourt decided to return to our settlement on account of four or five sick and wounded, whose wounds were growing worse through lack of ointment ; for our surgeon had brought but very little. This was a great mistake on his part, and a grief to the sick men as well as to us, inasmuch as the stench from their wounds in a small vessel like ours was so great that we could scarcely bear it ; and we feared lest these should engender disorders. Furthermore, we had provisions for but eight or ten days more, whatever economy we might practise ; and we

ne sçachans pas si le retour pourroit estre aussi long que l'aller, qui fut prés de deux mois.

Pour le moins nostre deliberation estant prinse, nous ne nous retirasmes qu'auec le contentement que Dieu n'auoit laissé impuny le mesfait de ces barbares. Nous ne fusmes que iusques au 41. degré & demy; qui ne fut que demy degré plus que n'auoit fait le sieur de Mons à sa descouuerture. Nous partismes donc de ce port.[1]

Et le lendemain vinsmes mouiller l'ancre proche de Malebarre,[2] où nous fusmes iusques au 28. du mois que nous mismes à la voile. Ce iour l'air estoit assez froid, & fit vn

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knew not whether the return journey might not last as long as our coming hither, which took nearly two months.

Nevertheless, our decision having been taken, we did not depart without the satisfaction of feeling that God had not left unpunished the misdeeds of these barbarians. We had indeed only reached 41° 30′, which was but half a degree further than the Sieur de Monts had gone on his discovery. Accordingly we set out from this harbour.[1]

The next day we cast anchor near Mallebarre,[2] where we remained until the twenty-eighth of the month, when we set sail. That day the air was quite cold and there fell a little

[1] The limit of their explorations may be taken as the meeting of Nantucket and Vineyard Sounds, in 41° 30′, a most happy coincidence with Champlain's estimate. As Mallebarre, or Nauset, lies in 41° 50′, they had made only 20′ beyond their exploration of the preceding year, being even less than the 30′ estimated by Champlain. See p. 350 *supra.*

Champlain obviously intended to call attention to the consequences of the failure to adopt his advice to pass over the already explored coast from the Ste. Croix to Mallebarre and to begin the explorations at the latter point. It must indeed have been a deep disappointment to Champlain that the expedition was able to traverse so small a fraction of the great unexplored coast towards Florida. Had his advice been taken, they would probably have explored Long Island Sound and reached the Hudson. *Cf.* pp. 393-4 *supra.*

[2] Nauset harbour. See Plate LXXV, p. 358.

peu de neige. Nous prismes la trauerse pour aller à Norambegue, ou à l'isle Haute.[1] Mettant le cap à l'Est Nordest fusmes deux iours sur la mer sans voir terre, contrariez du
p. 140. mauuais temps. La nuict ensuiuant eusmes cognoissance des isles qui sont entre Quinibequi & Narembegue.[2] Le vent estoit si grand que fusmes contraincts de nous mettre à la mer pour attendre le iour, où nous nous esloignasmes si bien de la terre, quelque peu de voiles qu'eussiōs, que ne la peusmes reuoir que iusques au lendemain, que nous vismes le trauers de l'isle Haute.

Ce iour dernier d'Octobre, entre l'isle des Montsdeserts, & le cap de Corneille,[3] nostre gouuernail se rompit en plusieurs pieces, sans sçauoir le subiect. Chacū en disoit son opinion. La nuit venant auec beau frais, nous estions parmy quantité d'isles & rochers, où le vent nous iettoit, & resolumes de nous sauuer, s'il estoit possible, à la premiere terre que rencontrerions.

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snow. We took the direct route for Norumbega or Isle Haute.[1] Setting a course east-north-east we were two days at sea without sighting land, being delayed by bad weather. The next night we sighted the islands that lie between Kennebec and Norumbega.[2] The wind was so high that we were obliged to put to sea to await daybreak, and we made such headway off shore, although we carried very little sail, that we could not sight it again until the next day, when we found ourselves off Isle Haute.

That day, the last of October, between Mount Desert island and Crow Cape,[3] our rudder broke into several pieces without our knowing the cause. Each expressed his opinion about it. Night coming on with a fresh breeze, we found ourselves among a number of islands and rocks whither the wind was driving us ; and we made up our minds to save ourselves if possible on the first land we should meet.

[1] *Cf.* p. 286 and the map on p. 288 *supra*. [2] *Cf.* p. 313, note 1.
[3] The point of Great Wass island (see p. 312 *supra*).

Nous fusmes quelque temps au gré du vent & de la mer, auec seulemēt le bourcet de deuāt : mais le pis fut que la nuit estoit obscure & ne sçauions où nous allions : car nostre barque ne gouuernoit nullemēt, bien que l'on fit ce qu'ō pouuoit, tenant les escouttes du bourcet à la main, qui quelquefois la faisoiēt vn peu gouuerner. Tousiours on sondoit si l'on pourroit trouuer fonds pour mouiller l'ancre & se preparer à ce qui pourroit subuenir. Nous n'en trouuasmes point ; enfin allant plus viste que ne desirions, l'on p. 141. aduisa de mettre vn auiron par derriere auec des hommes pour faire gouuerner à vne isle que nous apperceusmes, afin de nous mettre à l'abry du vent. On mit aussi deux autres auirons sur les costés au derriere de la barque, pour ayder à ceux qui gouuernoient, à fin de faire arriuer le vaisseau d'vn costé & d'autre. Ceste inuētiō nous seruit si biē que mettiōs le cap où desirions, & fusmes derriere la pointe de l'isle qu'auiōs apperceuë, mouiller l'ancre à 21. brasse[s] d'eau, attendant le

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For some time we were at the mercy of wind and sea with only the foresail set : but the worst of it was that the night was dark, and we knew not where we were going ; for our pinnace would not steer at all, though we did everything in our power, sometimes holding the foresail sheets in our hands, which made her steer a little. The whole time we were sounding to try and find bottom, in order to anchor and prepare ourselves for whatever might happen ; but we found none. Finally, as we were going faster than we wished, it was decided to rig an oar astern, with some men to steer us to an island of which we caught sight, in order to run under the lee of it. We also put out two other oars on the gunwales towards the stern of the pinnace to help those who were steering, in order to make the vessel bear up on each tack. This invention worked so well that we steered where we wished, and sailed behind the point of the island we had seen, and cast anchor in twenty-one

iour, pour nous recognoistre & aller chercher vn endroit pour faire vn autre gouuernail. Le vēt s'appaisa. Le iour estāt venu nous nous trouuasmes proches des isles Rāgees,[1] tout enuirōnés de brisans ; & louasmes Dieu de nous auoir conserués si miraculeusemēt parmy tant de perils.

Le premier de Nouembre nous allasmes en vn lieu que nous iugeasmes propre pour eschouer nostre vaisseau & refaire nostre timon. Ce iour ie fus à terre, & y vey de la glace espoisse de deux poulces, & pouuoit y auoir huit ou dix iours qu'il y auoit gelé, & vy bien que la temperature du lieu differoit de beaucoup à celle de Malebarre & port Fortuné : car les fueilles des arbres n'estoient pas encores mortes ny du tout tombees quand nous en partismes, & en ce lieu elles
p. 142. estoient toutes tombee[s], & y faisoit beaucoup plus de froid qu'au port Fortuné.

Le lendemain comme on alloit eschouer la barque, il vint vn canot où y auoit des sauuages Etechemins qui dirent à

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fathoms, waiting for daybreak to know where we were, and to find a place for making another rudder. The wind abated. At daybreak we found ourselves close to the Ordered Islands,[1] with breakers all about ; and praised God for having preserved us so miraculously amid so many dangers.

On the first of November we went to a place we thought suitable for beaching our vessel and repairing our helm. That day I went ashore, and there saw ice two inches thick which had been frozen some eight or ten days. I noticed clearly that the temperature here differed greatly from that at Mallebarre and Misfortune harbour ; for the leaves of the trees were not yet dead, nor had any fallen when we left those places. Here they had all fallen and it was much colder than at Misfortune harbour.

The next day as we were about to beach the pinnace, there arrived a canoe in which were some Etechemin Indians,

[1] See p. 281 *supra*, note 2.

celuy que nous auions en nostre barque, qui estoit Secondon, que Iouaniscou auec ses compagnons auoit tué quelques autres sauuages & emmené des femmes prisonnieres, & que proche des isles des Montsdeserts ils auoiēt fait leur executiō.[1]

Le neufiesme du mois nous partismes d'auprés du cap de Corneille[2] & le mesme iour vinsmes mouiller l'ancre au petit passage de la riuiere saincte Croix.[3]

Le lendemain au matin mismes nostre sauuage à terre auec quelques commoditez qu'on luy dōna, qui fut tres-aise & satisfait d'auoir fait ce voyage auec nous, & emporta quelques testes des sauuages qui auoient esté tuez au port Fortuné.[4]

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who told the Indian we had with us in our pinnace, namely Secoudon, that Iouaniscou and his companions had killed some other Indians and carried off some women as prisoners, and that near Mount Desert island they had put these to death.[1]

On the ninth of the month we set out from near Crow Cape,[2] and on the same day cast anchor in the Petit Passage of the river Ste. Croix.[3]

The next morning we put our Indian ashore with some supplies which we had given to him. He was much pleased and well satisfied at having made this voyage with us, and carried off some scalps of the Indians who had been killed at Misfortune harbour.[4] The same day we came to

[1] On this Indian war, see p. 458.

[2] Great Wass island.

[3] They probably repaired their pinnace somewhere in the excellent little harbour to the eastward of Great Wass island. Petit Passage was the western passage between the mainland and Campobello.

[4] This chief Secoudon, a devoted friend of the French, has already appeared several times in Champlain's narrative (pp. 267, 374, 393, and 394). Lescarbot tells us that at Misfortune Harbour, "with our men was a chief named Chkoudun, who mightily disliked this whole affair, and wished to go alone to do battle with this multitude, but was not suffered so to do." And again, "The savage Chkoudun, carried off one of their heads, but by ill-luck it fell into the water, whereat he was so chagrined that he wept openly and loud" (ii. 337-38). The "heads" were of course scalps, but Secoudon, as Champlain here shows, still had several when he landed.

Led. iour allasmes mouiller l'ancre en vne fort belle ance au Su de l'isle de Menasne.[1]

Le 12. du mois fismes voile, & en chemin la chalouppe que nous traisnions derriere nostre barque y donna vn si grand & si rude coup qu'elle fit ouuerture & brissa tout le haut de la barque : & de rechef au resac rompit les ferremens de nostre gouuernail, & croiyons du commencement qu'au premier coup
p. 143. qu'elle auoit donné, qu'elle eut enfoncé quelques plãches d'embas, qui nous eut fait submerger : car le vent estoit si esleué, que ce que pouuiõs faire estoit de porter nostre misanne : Mais aprés auoir veu le dommage qui estoit petit, & qu'il n'y auoit aucun peril, on fit en sorte qu'auec des cordages on accommoda le gouuernail le mieux qu'on peut, pour paracheuer de nous conduire, qui ne fut que iusques au

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anchor in a very fine cove on the south side of Manan island.[1]

On the twelfth of the month we set sail, and, while under way, the shallop we were towing behind our pinnace gave the latter such a heavy and severe blow that it broached and shattered all the upper works of the pinnace, and again on the rebound broke the rudder-irons. We thought at first that the earlier blow had stove in some of our bottom-planking, which would have sunk us; for the wind was so high that we could only carry our foresail; but after inspecting the damage, which was slight, and seeing there was no danger, we managed with ropes to repair the rudder as best we could, in order to last us for the rest of our voyage. This was only until the fourteenth of November, when,

[1] The route from the Petit Passage above-mentioned towards Port Royal would take the expedition past the north end of Grand Manan, and the first really sheltered cove on the east side is Flaggs Cove, which well deserves Champlain's appreciative designation. The peculiar adjustment of Champlain's map makes the east side fall to the southward.

14. de Nouembre, où à l'entree du port Royal pensames nous perdre sur vne pointe : mais Dieu nous deliura tant de ce peril que de beaucoup d'autres qu'auions courus.

Retour des susdites descouuertures et ce qui ce passa durant l'hyuernement.

CHAP. XVI.

A NOSTRE arriuee l'Escarbot qui estoit demeuré en l'habitation nous fit quelques gaillardises auec les gens qui y estoient restez pour nous resiouir.[1]

Estans à terre, & ayans repris halaine chacun commença,

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at the entrance to Port Royal, we were almost lost upon a point; but God delivered us from this peril as He had from many others to which we had been exposed.

CHAPTER XVI

Return from the above-mentioned discoveries, and what happened during the winter

UPON our arrival, Lescarbot, who had remained at the settlement, along with the others who had stayed there, welcomed us with sundry jollities for our entertainment.[1]

Having landed, and recovered breath, each began to make

[1] Lescarbot's own account has: "After many perils, which I shall not compare to those of Ulysses or of Æneas, lest I stain our holy voyages amid such impurity, M. de Poutrincourt reached Port Royal on November 14th, where we received him joyously and with a ceremony absolutely new on that side of the ocean. For about the time we were expecting his return, whereof we had great desire, the more so that if evil had come upon him we had been in danger of a mutiny, I bethought me to go out to meet him with some jovial spectacle, and so we did. And since it was written in French rhymes, made hastily, I have placed it among the *Muses of New France*, under the title of 'Neptune's Theatre,' to which I refer the reader.

à faire de petits iardins, & moy d'entretenir le mien,[1] attendant le printemps, pour y semer plusieurs sortes de graines, qu'on auoit apportees de France, qui vindrent fort bien en tous les iardins.

p. 144. Le sieur de Poitrincourt, d'autre part fit faire vn moulin à eau à prés d'vne lieue & demie de nostre habitation, proche de la pointe où on auoit semé du bled. Le moulin estoit basty auprés d'vn saut d'eau, qui vient d'vne petite riuiere qui n'est point nauigable pour la quantité de rochers qui y sont, laquelle se va rendre dans vn petit lac.[2] En ce lieu il y a vne telle abbondance de harens en sa saison, qu'on pourroit en charger des chalouppes, si on vouloit en prendre la peine, & y apporter

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small gardens, and I myself began to take care of mine,[1] in preparation for the spring, in order to sow several kinds of seed which we had brought from France and which throve extremely well in all the gardens.

The Sieur de Poutrincourt on the other hand had a water-mill built about a league and a half from our settlement, close to the point where wheat had been sown. The mill was built near a waterfall formed by a small river which is not navigable on account of the number of rocks in it, and which falls into a small lake.[2] At this place is such abundance of herring in their season that one could fill shallops with them, if one would take the trouble and bring thither

Furthermore, to give the greater honour to his return and our share therein, we had set up above the gate of our fort the arms of France, encircled with crowns of laurel, of which there is abundance along the edges of the wood, with the king's motto, 'Duo protegit unus.' And underneath the arms of M. de Monts, with this inscription: 'Dabit Deus his quoque finem,' and those of M. de Poutrincourt with this other inscription: 'Invia virtuti nulla est via,' both also crowned with laurel chaplets" (*Histoire*, ii. 340).

[1] The position of which is explained on p. 372, note 1.

[2] The accompanying map, sketched on the spot, is set in position for comparison with Champlain's at p. 259 *supra*. Just above the present tide head, a ruined dam extends across this river on a site so obviously the best for the purpose that there can hardly be any question that

l'inuention qui y seroit requise.[1] Aussi les sauuages de ces pays y viennent quelquesfois faire la pesche. On fit aussi quantité de charbon pour la forge. Et l'yuer pour ne demeurer oisifs i'entreprins de faire vn chemin sur le bort du

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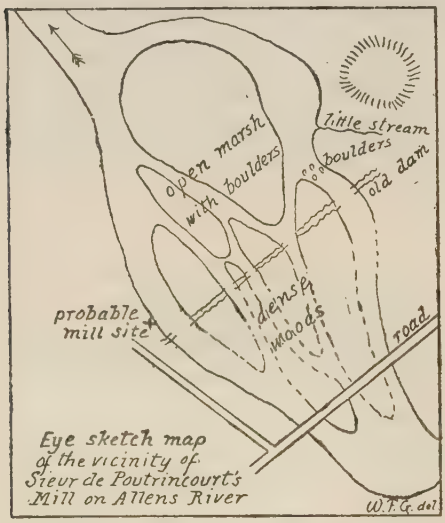
the requisite appliances.[1] Indeed the Indians of these parts come there at times to fish. Here we also made a quantity of charcoal for our forge. During the winter, in order not to be idle, I undertook to construct a road along the edge of

Poutrincourt's dam occupied the same site. A few yards below, on the western side of the western and principal channel, is a kind of niche or cove in the high bank, forming such a good situation for a mill-wheel that every indication points to this spot as the probable situation both of the earlier and later mills. The place, moreover, accords very closely with Champlain's map. Here, in all probability, stood Poutrincourt's mill. Lescarbot (ii. 347) has some very interesting remarks on this mill, which was constructed "much to the admiration of the savages." The location of this mill is discussed in the Calnek-Savary *History of the County of Annapolis*, 9, 15.



[1] Upon the opposite side of the principal island, Champlain marks, at V, a place where the Indians were accustomed to catch "herring" in their season; and both he and Lescarbot mention this fishery in their texts. In approximately this part of the stream, occur large masses of boulders, as shown on the above map; and here no doubt was this fishery. The tide now flows above the boulders, though in his day they were perhaps at the head of tide. Just below them, where a little stream enters from the east, the main channel broadens out to a considerable degree; and this expansion is perhaps "the lake" of which Champlain speaks in the text, rather than the T of his map. Indeed, upon the large map of Port Royal in Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, this place is clearly designated *Lac*. Champlain's lake T is higher up the stream (about a quarter of a

bois pour aller à vne petite riuiere qui est comme vn ruisseau,[1] que nōmasmes la truittiere,[2] à cause qu'il y en auoit beaucoup. Ie demanday deux ou trois hommes au sieur de Poitrincourt, qu'il me dōna pour m'ayder à y faire vne allee. Ie fis si biē qu'en peu de temps ie la rendy nette. Elle va iusques à la truittiere, & contient prés de deux mille pas, laquelle seruoit pour nous pourmener à l'ombre des arbres, que i'auois laissé d'vn costé & d'autre. Cela fit prendre resolutiō au sieur de Poitrincourt d'en faire vne autre au trauers des bois, pour
p. 145. trauerser droit à l'emboucheure du port Royal, où il y a prés

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the woods leading to a little river, which is like a brook,[1] and which we named the troutery,[2] for the reason that there were in it many of these fish. I asked the Sieur de Poutrincourt for two or three men, whom he gave me to assist me in making this walk. I got on so well that in a short time I had cleared it. It extends as far as the troutery, and is nearly two thousand paces long; and served as our promenade under the shade of the trees I had left standing on both sides. This induced the Sieur de Poutrincourt to have another made through the woods as a direct route to the entrance of Port Royal, about three and a half leagues by land

mile). It is now dammed and supplies the power to the electric-light station of Annapolis Royal. The herring caught at V were not the true herring, but the river herring (*Clupea vernalis*, Mitchill), called also gaspereaux by the French and alewives by the English. See Plate LXVII, p. 259.

[1] Dixons Brook. The road, with its extension made by Poutrincourt, is shown on the same map. Plate LXVII, letters C, X, and Y.

[2] The word *truittiere*, which is not found in the dictionaries, is not necessarily original with Champlain, since other words constructed on the same model occur elsewhere in Acadia. Thus, on Miscou island, in New Brunswick, is a lake called *Chenire*, which there is every reason to believe is a corruption of *chenière*, meaning Oakery, or place of Oak Trees (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XII, 1906, ii. 36); and near Neguac, New Brunswick, is a place called *Hetrière de Beausoleil*, *hètre* being a beech-tree (*Acadiensis*, VIII, 1908, 278). In a still unpublished Report by L'Hermitte of 1723 on the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, this termination in a similar sense occurs more than once.

de trois lieues & demie par terre de nostre habitation, & la fit commencer de la truittiere enuiron demie lieue, mais il ne l'ascheua pas pour estre trop penible, & s'occupa à d'autres choses plus necessaires pour lors. Quelque temps aprés nostre arriuee, nous apperceusmes vne chalouppe, où il y auoit des sauuages, qui nous dirent que du lieu d'où ils venoient, qui estoit Norembegue, on auoit tué vn sauuage qui estoit de nos amis, en vengeãce de ce que Iouaniscou aussi sauuage, & les siens auoiẽt tué de ceux de Norembegue, & de Quinibequi, cõme i'ay dit cy dessus ; & que des Etechemins l'auoient dit au sauuage Secondon qui estoit pour lors auec nous.[1]

Celuy qui commandoit en la chalouppe estoit le sauuage appellé Ouagimou, qui auoit familiarité auec Bessabes chef

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from our settlement. He had a beginning made from the troutery for about half a league, but never finished it because the labour was too great, and he was busy with other things then more necessary.

Some time after our arrival, we caught sight of a shallop in which were some Indians, who informed us that at the place whence they came, which was Norumbega, an Indian, who was one of our friends, had been killed out of vengeance because another Indian, Iouaniscou, and his people had killed some Indians from Norumbega and Kennebec, as I have already related ; and that the Etechemins had told this to Secoudon, the Indian who was at that time with us.[1]

The Indian in command of the boat was called Ouagimou, who was on familiar terms with Bessabes, chief

[1] *Cf.* p. 436 *supra*, and also p. 458 *infra*. Champlain apparently means that the Indians in the canoe had heard this news from Secoudon, who was with the expedition to Misfortune Harbour, but was not now at Port Royal. Ouagimou, mentioned in the next paragraph, was chief at Passamaquoddy (Lescarbot, ii. 359). Cf. p. 311 *supra*.

de la riuiere de Norēbegue, à qui il demāda le corps de Panounia qui auoit esté tué : ce qu'il luy octroya, le priant de dire à ses amis qu'il estoit bien fasché de sa mort, luy asseurant que c'estoit sans son sçeu qu'il auoit esté tué, & que n'y ayant de sa faute, il le prioit de leur dire qu'il desiroit qu'ils demeurassent amis comme auparauant : ce que Ouagimou luy promit faire quand il seroit de retour. Il nous dit qu'il luy
p. 146. ennuya fort qu'il n'estoit hors de leur compagnie, quelque amitié qu'on luy mōstrast, comme estans subiects au changement, craignant qu'ils ne luy en fissent autant comme au deffunct : aussi n'y arresta il pas beaucoup aprés sa despeche. Il emmena le corps en sa chalouppe depuis Norembegue iusques à nostre habitation, d'où il y a 50. lieues.

Aussi tost que le corps fut à terre ses parens & amis commencerent à crier au prés de luy, s'estans peints tout le visage de noir, qui est la façon de leur dueil. Aprés auoir bien

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of Norumbega river, from whom he asked the body of Panonias who had been killed. Bessabes granted him this, begging him to say to his friends that he was very sorry for Panonias' death, assuring Ouagimou that it was without his knowledge that Panonias had been killed, and that, since it was not his fault, he begged him to say to them that he hoped they would remain friends as heretofore. This Ouagimou promised to do on his return home. He told us he was much worried until he got away from them, however much friendliness they showed him ; for they were liable to change, and he feared lest they would treat him as they had him who was slain. Accordingly he did not tarry long after his dismissal. He brought the body in his shallop from Norumbega to our settlement, a distance of fifty leagues.

As soon as the body was brought on shore, the relatives and friends began to make outcries beside it, their faces being painted all over with black, which is their manner of mourning.

pleuré, ils prindrent quantité de petum, & deux ou trois chiens, & autres choses qui estoient au deffunct, qu'ils firent brusler à quelque mille pas de nostre habitation sur le bort de la mer. Leurs cris continuerent iusques à ce qu'ils fussent de retour en leur cabanne.

Le lendemain ils prindrent le corps du deffunct, & l'enuelopperent dedans vne catalougue[a] rouge, que Mabretou chef de ses lieux m'inportuna fort de luy dōner, d'autant qu'elle estoit belle & grāde, laquelle il donna aux parēs dud. deffunct, qui m'en remercierēt bien fort. Aprés dōc auoir emmaillotté le corps, ils le parerēt de plusieurs sortes de *matachiats*,[1] qui sont patinostres & bracelets de diuerses couleurs, luy peinrent le visage, & sur la teste luy mirent plusieu[r]s plumes & autres p. 147.
choses qu'ils auoient de plus beau, puis mirent le corps à genoux au milieu de deux bastons, & vn autre qui le soustenoit

[a] Probablement pour : *catalogne*, sorte de couverture de laine très fine.

After a great deal of weeping, they took a quantity of tobacco and two or three dogs and other things belonging to the deceased, and burnt them upon the shore some thousand paces from our settlement. Their cries continued until they had returned to their wigwams.

The next day they took the body and wrapped it in a red coverlet which Membertou, the chief of these parts, had much importuned me to give him, inasmuch as it was handsome and large. This he presented to the relatives of the dead man, who thanked me very much for it. Then after having bound up the body, they decorated it with many kinds of ornaments,[1] such as beads and bracelets of several colours; painted his face, and upon his head stuck many feathers and other objects the fairest they had. Then they placed the body on its knees between two stakes, with another supporting

[1] See Lescarbot, iii. 157.

soubs les bras : & au tour du corps y auoit sa mere, sa femme & autres de ses parens & amis, tant femmes que filles, qui hurloient comme chiens.

Cependant que les femmes & filles crioient le sauuage appelé Mabretou, faisoit vne harangue à ses compagnōs sur la mort du deffunct, en incitant vn chacun d'auoir vengeance de la meschanceté & trahison commise par les subiects de Bessabes, & leur faire la guerre le plus promptement que faire se pourroit. Tous luy accorderent de la faire au printemps.[1]

La harang[u]e faitte & les cris cessez, ils emporterēt le corps du deffunct en vne autre cabanne. Aprés auoir petuné, le renueloperent dās vne peau d'Eslan, & le lierent fort bien, & le conseruerent iusques à ce qu'il y eust plus grande compagnie de sauuages, de chacun desquels le frere du defunct esperoit auoir des presens, comme c'est leur coustume d'en

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it under the arms ; and about the body were his mother, his wife, and other relatives and friends, both women and girls, who howled like dogs.

Whilst the women and girls were lamenting, the Indian named Membertou made a speech to his companions upon the death of the deceased, inciting each to take vengeance for the wickedness and treachery committed by the subjects of Bessabes, and to make war on them as soon as possible. All promised him to do so in the spring.[1]

When the speech was finished and the cries over, they carried the body of the dead man into another wigwam. Having smoked, they again wrapped it in a moose-skin and tied it up very securely, and preserved it until there should be a larger number of Indians present, from each of whom the brother of the dead man expected to receive presents, since it is their custom to give such to those

[1] And they did so (see pp. 451 and 457).

donner à ceux qui ont perdu leurs peres, meres, femmes, freres, ou sœurs.[1]

La nuit du 26. Decembre il fist vn vent de Surest, qui abbatit plusieurs arbres.

Le dernier Decembre il commença à neger, & cela dura iusqu'au lendemain matin. p. 148.

Le 16. Ianuier ensuiuant 1607. le sieur de Poitrincourt voulant aller au haut de la riuiere de l'Equille la trouua seelee de glaces à quelque deux lieues de nostre habitation, qui le fit retourner pour ne pouuoir passer.

Le 8. Feurier il commença à descendre quelques glaces du haut de la riuiere dans le port qui ne gele que le long de la coste.

Le 10. de May ensuyuant, il negea toute la nuict, & sur

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who have lost their fathers, mothers, wives, brothers, or sisters.[1]

On the night of the twenty-sixth of December, a wind from the south-east blew down a number of trees.

The last day of December it began to snow, and continued to do so until the next morning.

On the sixteenth of January following, in the year 1607, the Sieur de Poutrincourt, wishing to go to the head of Equille river, found it closed with ice some two leagues from our settlement, and had to return since he was unable to go farther.

On the eighth of February some ice-floes began to come down from the head of the river into the port, which only freezes along the shore.

On the tenth of May following it snowed the whole night,

[1] This account of the aboriginal mortuary customs of the Micmacs is by far the most detailed we possess. Lescarbot adds that the body of Panonias was finally buried on an island near Cape Sable—one of the burial islands whose locations they kept secret, lest some enemy might disturb the bones of the dead (iii. 273 *et seq.*).

la fin du mois faisoit de fortes gelees blanches, qui durerent iusques au 10. & 12. de Iuin, que tous les arbres estoiẽt couuerts de feuilles, horsmis les chesnes qui ne iettent les leur[s] que vers le 15.

L'yuer ne fut si grand que les annees precedentes, ny les neges aussi ne furent si long tẽps sur la terre.[1] Il pleust assez souuent, qui fut occasion que les sauuages eurent vne grande famine, pour y auoir peu de neges.[2] Le sieur de Poitrincourt nourrist vne partie de ceux qui estoient auec nous, sçauoir Mabretou, sa femme & ses enfans, & quelques autres.

Nous passames cest yuer fort ioyeusement, & fismes bonne chere, par le moyen de l'ordre de bontẽps que i'y establis,

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and towards the end of the month there were several heavy white frosts which lasted as late as the tenth and twelfth of June, when all the trees were covered with leaves, except the oaks which do not put out theirs until about the fifteenth.

The winter was not so long as in the preceding years, nor did the snow remain so late upon the ground.[1] It rained pretty often, on which account the Indians suffered a severe famine, because of the scarcity of snow.[2] The Sieur de Poutrincourt fed part of those who were with us, that is to say Membertou, his wife and his children, and some others.

We spent this winter very pleasantly, and had good fare by means of the Order of Good Cheer which I established,

[1] Lescarbot also states that the winter was of exceptional mildness—"for up to the said season of January, we always went about in our doublets, and I remember that on a Sunday afternoon, the 14th of that month, we amused ourselves by singing music along the banks of the Rivière l'Equille, now called Dauphin River, and that during this same month we paid a visit to the cornfields, two leagues from our fort, and dined joyously in the sunshine" (ii. 346).

[2] They could not capture moose as usual by running them down in the deep snow (*cf.* p. 308 *supra*). Yet the Indians did not fail utterly in the hunt for moose, as Lescarbot shows (ii. 321, iii. 221).

qu'vn chacū trouua vtile pour la sante, & plus profitable que toutes sortes de medicines, dont on eust peu vser.[1] Ceste p. 149. ordre estoit vne chaine que nous mettions auec quelques petites ceremonies au col d'vn de nos gens, luy donnant la charge pour ce iour d'aller chasser : le lendemain on la bailloit à vn autre, & ainsi consecutiuement : tous lesquels s'efforçoient à l'enuy à qui feroit le mieux & aporteroit la plus belle chasse : Nous ne nous en trouuasmes pas mal, ny les sauuages qui estoient auec nous.

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and which everybody found beneficial to his health, and more profitable than all sorts of medicine we might have used.[1] This Order consisted of a chain which we used to place with certain little ceremonies about the neck of one of our people, commissioning him for that day to go hunting. The next day it was conferred upon another, and so on in order. All vied with each other to see who could do the best, and bring back the finest game. We did not come off badly, nor did the Indians who were with us.

[1] Lescarbot says: "To this Order each man of the said table was appointed Chief Steward in his turn, which came round once a fortnight. Now this person had the duty of taking care that we were all well and honourably provided for. This was so well carried out that, though the epicures of Paris often tell us that we had no *Rue aux Ours* over there, as a rule we made as good cheer as we could have in this same *Rue aux Ours* and at less cost. For there was no one who, two days before his turn came, failed to go hunting or fishing, and to bring back some delicacy in addition to our ordinary fare. So well was this carried out that never at breakfast did we lack some savoury meat of flesh or fish, and still less at our midday or evening meals; for that was our chief banquet, at which the ruler of the feast or chief butler, whom the savages call Atoctegic, having had everything prepared by the cook, marched in, napkin on shoulder, wand of office in hand, and around his neck the collar of the Order, which was worth more than four crowns; after him all the members of the Order, each carrying a dish. The same was repeated at dessert, though not always with so much pomp. And at night, before giving thanks to God, he handed over to his successor in the charge the collar of the Order, with a cup of wine, and they drank to each other." Lescarbot adds an appetising list of the game at their disposal, giving high praise to moose meat (*Histoire*, ii. 342).

Il y eut de la maladie de la terre parmy nos gens, mais non si aspre qu'elle auoit esté aux annees precedētes : Neantmoins il ne laissa d'en mourir sept ; & vn autre d'vn coup de flesche qu'il auoit receu des sauuages au port Fortuné.[1]

Nostre chirurgien appelé maistre Estienne, fit ouuerture de quelques corps, & trouua presque toutes les parties de dedans offencees, comme on auoit fait aux autres les annees precedentes. Il y en eut 8. ou 10. de malades qui guerirent au printemps.

Au commencement de Mars & d'Auril, chacun se mit à preparer les iardins pour y semer des graines en May, qui est le vray tēps, lesquelles vindrēt aussi bien qu'elles eussent peu faire en Frāce, mais quelque peu plus tardiues :[2] & trouue

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There was scurvy among our men, but not so violent as it had been in the previous years. Nevertheless, seven of them died, as did another from an arrow-shot received from the Indians at Misfortune harbour.[1]

Our surgeon, named Master Stephen, opened a few bodies, and, as had been done in the other cases in the previous years, found almost all the interior parts affected. Some eight or ten who were sick got well in the spring.

At the beginning of March and of April, each began to prepare the gardens for the sowing of the seeds in May, which is the proper season. These seeds came up just as well as they could have done in France. but a little later.[2] I

[1] Lescarbot says that four died, "of those who were either downcast or slothful" (ii. 344). *Cf.* p. 420 *supra.*

[2] *Cf.* Lescarbot: "When each of us had finished his sowing it was a marvellous pleasure to see them grow and increase day by day, and a still greater contentment to make the abundant use of them which we did; in so much that this commencement of good hope made us almost forget our native country, especially when the fish began again to seek the fresh water and to come in such abundance into our brooks that we knew not what to do with them" (ii. 347).

que la France est au plus vn mois & demy plus aduancee : & comme i'ay dit, le temps est de semer en May, bien qu'on peut semer quelquefois en Auril, mais ces semences n'ad- p 150.
uancēt pas plus que celles qui sont semees en May, & lors qu'il n'y a plus de froidures qui puisse offencer les herbes, sinon celles qui sont fort tendres, comme il y en a beaucoup qui ne peuuent resister aux gelees blanches, si ce n'est auec vn grand soin & trauuail.

Le 24. de May apperceusmes vne petite barque du port de 6. a 7. tonneaux qu'on enuoya recognoistre, & trouua on que c'estoit vn ieune homme de sainct Maslo appelé Cheualier qui apporta lettres du sieur de Mons au sieur de Poitrincourt, par lesquelles il luy mandoit de ramener ses compagnons en France,[1] & nous dit la naissance de Monseigneur le Duc d'Or-

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believe that in France the season is at the most a month and a half earlier. As I have said, the season for sowing is in May, although sometimes one can sow in April ; but such sowings advance no faster than those made in May, when there are no longer any frosts that can injure the plants except the very tender ones ; for there are many that cannot withstand the white frosts except after much care and labour.

On the twenty-fourth of May we caught sight of a small pinnace of six to seven tons' burden, which we sent men to examine. They found it was a young man of St. Malo, named Chevalier, who brought letters from the Sieur de Monts to the Sieur de Poutrincourt, by which he directed the latter to bring back his company to France.[1] He told us of the birth of Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans, which rejoiced

[1] The arrival of this news from France, treated here in three or four lines, is related by Lescarbot in as many pages, and with the addition of a wealth of detail which the reader should follow for himself in Principal Grant's translation (ii. 349 *et seq.*). The reason for the abandonment of the settlement was the dissolution of Monts' company which supported it—a disaster caused by heavy financial losses, and especially by the revocation of his monopoly of the fur-trade.

leãs, qui nous apporta de la resiouissance, & en fismes les feu de ioye, & châtasmes le *Te deum*.[1]

Depuis le commencement de Iuin iusqu'au 20. du mois, s'assemblerent en ce lieu quelque 30. ou 40. sauuages, pour s'en aller faire la guerre aux Almouchiquois, & venger la mort de Panouuia,[a] qui fut enterré par les sauuages selon leur coustume, lesquels donnerẽt en aprés quantité de pelleterie à vn sien frere. Les presens faicts, ils partirent tous de ce lieu le 29. de Iuin pour aller à la guerre à Chouacoet, qui est le pays des Almouchiquois.[2]

p. 151. Quelques iours aprés l'arriuee dudict Cheualier, le sieur de Poitrincourt l'enuoya à la riuiere S. Iean & saincte Croix pour traicter quelque pelleterie : mais il ne le laissa pas aller

[a] *Sic.*

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us, and in honour thereof we made bonfires and chanted the *Te Deum*.[1]

Between the beginning and the twentieth of June some thirty or forty Indians assembled at this place in order to go upon the war-path against the Almouchiquois, and to avenge the death of Panonias, who was buried by the Indians according to their rites, after which they gave a quantity of furs to a brother of his. When these presents had been made, they all set out from this place on the twenty-ninth of June to go on the war-path at Saco, which is the country of the Almouchiquois.[2]

Some days after the said Chevalier's arrival, the Sieur de Poutrincourt sent him to the rivers St. John and Ste. Croix to trade for furs ; but he did not allow him to go there without

[1] The Duke of Orleans was the second son of Henri IV, but died in his fifth year.

[2] Lescarbot gives a fuller account of the assembling of these Indians, putting their number at four hundred, and their departure at the beginning of June. In this connection he gives a most interesting biographical sketch of their leader, the great Micmac chief Membertou (ii. 354–5).

sans gēs pour ramener la barque, d'autāt que quelques vns auoient raporté qu'il desiroit s'en retourner en Frāce auec le vaisseau où il estoit venu, & nous laisser en nostre habitatiō. L'Escarbot estoit de ceux qui l'accompagnerēt, lequel n'auoit encores sorty du port Royal[1] : c'est le plus loin qu'il ayt esté, qui sont seulement 14. à 15. lieues plus auant que ledit port Royal.[2]

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men to bring the long-boat back, since some persons had reported that Chevalier was desirous of returning to France with the vessel in which he had come out and of leaving us in our settlement. Lescarbot was among those who accompanied him, having not yet left Port Royal.[1] This is the farthest he went, which is only fourteen to fifteen leagues beyond the said Port Royal.[2]

[1] This journey, the only expedition made by Lescarbot, is naturally treated by him at considerable length, and with many details relative to both places.

[2] This statement aroused resentment in Lescarbot, who in the 1617 edition of his *Histoire* added this passage: "I do not know why Champlain, in the account of his voyages printed in 1613, goes out of his way to say that I did not go farther than Ste. Croix, seeing that I do not say the contrary." In this edition Lescarbot also removed or modified certain complimentary references to Champlain, and altered other passages in a way to lessen Champlain's prominence. Principal Grant (*Histoire*, ii. 359) expresses the opinion that Champlain was here revenging himself for Lescarbot's earlier gibes at his credulity about the Gougou (*Des Sauvages*, p. 186 *supra*); but, as I have tried to show elsewhere (*Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, xvii. 1913, 37), this motive seems inadequate, more especially as Champlain expressed no further belief in that monster than to connect it with the Devil, in whom everybody then believed. Champlain's annoyance perhaps expressed the antagonism between the man of action and the man of letters, when the latter makes literary material of the former's exploits, more especially if the cream and interest of the explorer's efforts is thus presented to the world before the explorer himself has had time to do so.

Lescarbot also impugns Champlain's accuracy as to the distance from Ste. Croix to Port Royal. Champlain is indeed in error here, since he gives the distance only to St. John and ignores that to Ste. Croix, which is about twenty-five leagues farther. But Lescarbot again is quite wrong in stating that Champlain's map of 1612 makes this distance at least forty leagues.

Attendant le retour dudit Cheualier, le sieur de Poitrincourt fut au fonds de la baye Françoise[1] dans vne chalouppe auec 7. à 8. hommes. Sortant du port & mettant le cap au Nordest quart de l'Est le long de la coste quelque 25. lieues, fusmes à vn cap, où le sieur de Poitrincourt voulut monter sur vn rocher de plus de 30. thoises de haut, où il courut fortune de sa vie : d'autant qu'estant sur le rocher, qui est fort estroit, où il auoit monté auec assez de difficulté, le sommet trembloit soubs luy : le subiect estoit que par succession de temps il s'y estoit amassé de la mousse de 4. à 5. pieds despois laquelle n'estant solide, trembloit quand on estoit dessus, & bien souuent quand on mettoit le pied sur vne pierre il en tomboit 3. ou 4. autres : de sorte que s'il y
p. 152. monta auec peine, il descendit auec plus grande difficulté, encore que quelques matelots, qui sont gens assez adroits à grimper, luy eussēt porté vne haussiere (qui est vne corde de

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While awaiting the return of the said Chevalier, the Sieur de Poutrincourt went in a shallop with seven or eight men to the head of French Bay.[1] Leaving port and sailing north-east one quarter east along the coast for some twenty-five leagues, we came to a cape where the Sieur de Poutrincourt wished to climb a cliff more than thirty fathoms in height. Here he ran the risk of losing his life; for having reached the top of the rock, which is very narrow, and which he had ascended with considerable difficulty, the summit trembled beneath him. The cause of this was that in course of time moss had accumulated there to a thickness of four to five feet, and not being solid, trembled when trodden upon; and very often when one stepped upon a stone three or four others fell: so that, although he had got up with difficulty, he came down with much greater trouble, though some sailors, who are men fairly skilful in climbing, had passed him a hawser

[1] Bay of Fundy.

moyenne grosseur) par le moyen de laquelle il descendit. Ce lieu fut nommé le cap de Poitrincourt, qui est par la hauteur de 45. degrez deux tiers de latitude.[1]

Nous fusmes au fonds d'icelle baye,[2] & ne vismes autre chose que certaines pierres blanches à faire de la chaux: Mais en petite quātité,[3] & force mauues, qui sont oiseaux, qui estoient dās des isles:[4] Nous en prismes à nostre volōté, & fismes le tour de la baye pour aller au port aux mines,[5] où i'auois esté auparauant, & y menay le sieur de Poitrincourt, qui y print quelques petits morceaux de cuiure, qu'il eut auec bien grand peine. Toute ceste baye peut contenir quelque 20. lieues de circuit, où il y a au fonds vne petite riuiere, qui

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(which is a rope of medium size), by the aid of which he descended. This place was named Cape Poutrincourt, and is in latitude 45° 40′.[1]

We went to the head of this bay,[2] but saw nothing except certain white stones for making lime, which were few in number,[3] and many sea-gulls, which are birds that were upon some islands.[4] We captured as many of these as we wished. We made the circuit of the bay in order to visit the Port of Mines, where I had been already.[5] I conducted thither the Sieur de Poutrincourt, who gathered some small pieces of copper which were obtained with very great difficulty. This whole bay is about twenty leagues in circumference, and at its head is a small stream which is very shoal and has little

[1] Champlain's map of 1612 appears to apply the name to cape Blomidon, but the description accords far better with the elongated narrow ridge-like Cape Split, the latitude of which is about 45° 20′.

[2] Minas Basin.

[3] The white stones were undoubtedly limestone, which occurs on the shore on the eastern sides of the mouths of the Avon and Shubenacadie rivers, at Whale Cove, and just east of Parrsboro.

[4] Probably the Brick Kiln group of rather low islands just west of Economy Point, though possibly they may have been the very much loftier Five Islands farther west.

[5] See pp. 261 and 374 *supra*.

est fort platte & peu d'eau. Il y a quantité d'autres petits ruisseaux & quelques endroits, où il y a de bons ports, mais c'est de plaine mer, où l'eau mõte de cinq brasses.[1] En l'vn de ces ports 3. à 4. lieues au Nort du cap de Poitrincourt[2] trouuasmes vne Croix qui estoit fort vieille, toute couuerte de mousse & presque toute pourrie, qui mõstroit vn signe euident qu'autrefois il y auoit esté des Chrestiens.[3] Toutes ces terres
p. 153. sont forests tres-espoisses, où le pays n'est pas trop aggreable, sinon en quelques endroits.

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water. There are a number of other small streams and certain places where there are good harbours, but only at high tide, which here rises five fathoms.[1] In one of these harbours, three to four leagues north of Poutrincourt Cape,[2] we found a very old cross, all covered with moss, and almost wholly rotted away, an unmistakable sign that formerly Christians had been there.[3] This whole country is covered with very dense forests, and the land is not very pleasant except in certain places.

[1] From his observations during this expedition Champlain laid down the Basin of Minas upon his maps, though he seems to have given it no name. The other great arm of the Bay of Fundy, Chignecto Bay, which he named *baye de Gennes*, could only have been explored in 1604 (p. 279 *supra*). In his explanation of his map of 1632, under 94 he says: "Sort of salt water lake at the head of the French Bay, where runs the flow and ebb of the tide. Here are islands on which are many birds, plenty of marshes in several places, and small rivers which fall into these lakes, and by these one can travel into the Gulf of St. Lawrence near the island of St. John."

[2] Cape Blomidon or Cape Split.

[3] The cross was probably found in Parrsboro harbour. On Champlain's map of 1632 the cross was no doubt intended to be placed here, but by error of the engraver stops at the north side of the Bay of Fundy. Upon general grounds we can well believe that Minas Basin had been visited before Champlain's day, but no record of this has come down to us. The custom of erecting crosses was very general. Champlain's map of St. John shows a cross there, and he records another at Misfortune Harbour, while Lescarbot mentions them at Kennebec and Nauset (ii. 331).

Estant au port aux mines nous retournasmes à nostre habitation. Dedãs icelle baye y a de grands transports de maree qui portent au Surouest.

Le 12. de Iuillet arriua Ralleau secretaire du sieur de Mons, luy quatriesme dedans vne chalouppe, qui venoit d'vn lieu appelé Niganis,[1] distant du port Royal de quelque 160. ou 170. lieues, qui confirma au sieur de Poitrincourt ce que Cheualier luy auoit raporté.

Le 3. Iuillet [2] on fit equiper trois barques pour enuoyer les hõmes & cõmoditez qui estoient à nostre habitation pour aller à Campseau, distant de 115. lieues de nostre habitation, & à 45. degrez & vn tiers de latitude, où estoit le vaisseau qui faisoit pesche de poisson, qui nous deuoit repasser en France.[3]

From the Port of Mines we went back to our settlement. Inside that bay are great tidal currents which set to the south-west.

On the twelfth of July arrived Ralleau, secretary of the Sieur de Monts, with three others in a shallop which came from a place called Ingonish,[1] distant from Port Royal some hundred and sixty or hundred and seventy leagues. He confirmed to the Sieur de Poutrincourt the report brought by Chevalier.

On the third [2] of July, we made ready three long-boats to send the people and stores from our settlement to Canso, distant some hundred and fifteen leagues, and in latitude 45° 40′. Here, engaged in the fishery, was the ship which was to take us back to France.[3]

[1] In Cape Breton (see p. 467 *infra*).

[2] This should read 30 July; for Lescarbot shows that on that date most of the party left Port Royal, though Poutrincourt, with eight companions, remained eleven days longer (ii. 361).

[3] The *Jonas*. Canso lies in 45° 20′.

Le sieur de Poitrincourt renuoya tous ses compagnons, & demeura luy neufieme en l'habitatiō pour emporter en France quelques bleds qui n'estoient pas bien à maturité.

Le 10. d'Aoust arriua de la guerre Mabretou, lequel nous dit auoir esté à Chouacoet, & auoir tué 20. sauuages & 10. ou 12. de b[l]essez ; & que Onemechin chef de ce lieu, p. 154. Marchin, & vn autre auoient esté tués par Sasinou chef de la riuiere de Quinibequi, lequel depuis fut tué par les compagnons d'Onemechin & Marchin. Toute ceste guerre ne fut que pour le subiect de Panounia sauuage de nos amis, lequel, cōme i'ay dict cy dessus auoit esté tué à Narembegue par les gens dudit Onemechin & Marchin.

Les chefs qui sont pour le iourd'huy en la place d'Onemechin, Marchin, & Sasinou, sont leurs fils, sçauoir pour Sasinou, Pememen : Abriou pour Marchin son pere : & pour

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The Sieur de Poutrincourt sent away all his companions, but remained with eight others at the settlement in order to take back to France certain grains which were not yet quite ripe.

On the tenth of August, Membertou returned from the war. He told us he had been to Saco and had killed twenty Indians and wounded ten or twelve others ; and that Onemechin, chief of that locality, Marchin, and another, had been killed by Sasinou, chief of the Kennebec river, who was afterwards killed by the companions of Onemechin and Marchin. This whole war was solely on account of Panonias, one of our Indian friends, who, as I have already stated,[1] had been killed at Norumbega by the said Onemechin's and Marchin's people.

The chiefs who have now replaced Onemechin, Marchin, and Sasinou are their sons—that is to say, for Sasinou, Pememen, Abriou for Marchin his father, and for Onemechin, Quecon-

[1] *Cf.* p. 451 *supra.*

Onemechin Queconsicq. Les deux derniers furent blessez par les gens de Mabretou, qui les attraperēt soubs apparēce d'amitié, comme est leur coustume, de quoy on se doit donner garde, tant des vns que des autres.[1]

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sicq. The two latter were wounded by Membertou's men, who ambushed them under pretence of friendship, as is their custom, against which it is necessary to be on one's guard as much with one party as the other.[1]

[1] The stages in this Indian war were as follows: In September 1605 the Micmac chief Messamouet gave valuable presents to the Almouchiquois chief at Saco, but, finding these inadequately requited, vowed vengeance, and declared his intention to make war (p. 396 *supra*). This event, while not the direct cause of the final war, nevertheless contributed thereto by engendering a hostile feeling. About a year later one Iouaniscou, apparently a Micmac, or at least an Etechemin, killed certain Indians, said to belong to Penobscot and Kennebec (p. 436), though the context would seem to imply that they were really Almouchiquois. The next season Panonias, or Panoniac, going along the coast of Maine on a trading expedition, as Lescarbot makes plain in his *Muses*, was killed by Almouchiquois Indians at Penobscot, in revenge for the murders committed by Iouaniscou. The fact that Panonias was killed on the Penobscot explains why his body was in possession of the Penobscot chief. In revenge for his death, the Micmacs went on the war-path against the Almouchiquois, whom they met and defeated with much loss at Saco. Peace was made later at Saco under the influence of Champdoré (Lescarbot, ii. 367). A reference to this war, coupled with the name of Messamouet, chief of La Have, occurs in *The Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc*, 1607 (p. 403 of Burrage's edition in *Original Narratives of Early American History*).

Habitation abandonnee. Retour en France du sieur de Poitrincourt & de tous ces gens.

CHAP. XVII.

L'ONSIEME du mois d'Aoust partismes de nostre habitation dans vne chalouppe, & rengeasmes la coste iusques au cap Fourchu,[1] où i'auois esté auparauant.

Continuant nostre routte le long de la coste iusques au cap de la Héue (où fut le premier abort auec le sieur de Mons,
p. 155. le 8. de May 1604.[2]) nous recogneusmes la coste depuis ce lieu iusques à Cāpseau, d'où il y a prés de 60. lieues : ce que n'auois encor fait, & la vis lors fort particulieremēt, & en fis la carte comme du reste.

CHAPTER XVII

The Settlement abandoned. Return of the Sieur de Poutrincourt with all his people to France.

ON the eleventh of August we set out from our settlement in a shallop, and coasted the shore as far as Cape Fourchu,[1] where I had been already.

Continuing our route along the coast as far as cape La Have (where we made our first landing with the Sieur de Monts on the eighth of May, 1604),[2] we explored the coast from this place as far as Canso, a distance of nearly sixty leagues, which I had not yet done. I examined it very carefully, and made a map of it, along with the rest.

[1] Near Yarmouth (*cf.* p. 244 *supra*, note 1).
[2] *Cf.* p. 236 *supra*.

Partant du cap de la Héue iusques à Sesambre,[1] qui est vne isle ainsi appelée par quelques Mallouins, distante de la Héue de 15. lieues. En ce chemin y a quantité d'isles qu'auions nommees les Martyres pour y auoir eu des françois autresfois tués par les sauuages.[2] Ces isles sōt en plusieurs culs de sac & bayes : En vne desquelles y a vne riuiere appelee saincte Marguerite[3] distāte de Sesambre de 7. lieues, qui est par la hauteur de 44. degrez & 25. minuttes, de latitude. Les isles & costes sont remplies de quantité de pins, sapins, boulleaux, & autres meschants bois. La pesche du poisson y est abbondante, comme aussi la chasse des oiseaux.

Leaving cape La Have, we went to Sesambre,[1] which is an island so named by some men of St. Malo, and distant from La Have fifteen leagues. On the way are a large number of islands which we had named the Martyrs, because some Frenchmen had once been killed there by the Indians.[2] These islands lie in several coves and bays, in one of which is a river called Ste. Marguerite.[3] It is seven leagues from Sesambre, which is in latitude 44° 25′. The islands and coasts are covered with quantities of pines, firs, birches, and other woods of poor quality. The fishing is abundant, as are also the game-birds.

[1] Sambro. As Laverdière pointed out, the name reproduces that of Cézembre, an island lying off St. Malo. The word was evidently in use before Champlain's day, though this is its earliest known appearance. The actual latitude is 44° 26′, which is surprisingly close to the 44° 25′ mentioned by Champlain a little later. The place is marked on his maps of 1612 and 1632. See Plate LXXXI.

[2] According to Champlain's maps the Martyrs comprise especially the islands lying off Mahone Bay. His maps, however, have *Isle* and *Ille*, not the plural, thus implying that there was one island which was the scene of the death of the Frenchmen, though the data do not permit of its identification. The name is of course extinct.

[3] The name persists in the bay of St. Margaret, the small river emptying into its head being now called Northeast River. It is marked on Champlain's map of 1612, but upon that of 1632 the number 40 attached thereto answers to the *Riviere Platte*, which name obviously belongs to the river next described, flowing into the head of Halifax harbour.

De Sesambre passames vne baye fort saine contenant sept à huit lieues, où il n'y a aucunes isles sur le chemin horsmis au fonds, qui est à l'entree d'vne petite riuiere de peu d'eau,[1] & fusmes à vn port distāt de Sesambre de 8. lieues mettant le cap au Nordest quart d'Est, qui est assez bon pour des vaisseaux du port de cent à six vingts tonneaux. En son entree y a vne isle de laquelle on peut de basse mer[a] aller à la grande
p. 156. terre. Nous auons nommé ce lieu, le port saincte Helaine, qui est par la hauteur de 44. degrez 40. minuttes peu plus ou moins de latitude.[2]

De ce lieu fusmes à vne baye appelee la baye de toutes isles,[3]

[a] L'original porte, *mener*.

Beyond Sesambre we passed a bay very free from obstructions and seven to eight leagues in circumference, where there are no islands in the passage but only at its head, which forms the mouth of a small shallow river.[1] We went to a harbour, distant from Sesambre some eight leagues on a course northeast one quarter east, which is fairly good for ships of the burden of one hundred to one hundred and twenty tons. In the entrance lies an island, from which at low water one can pass to the mainland. We named this place St. Helen's harbour. It lies in latitude 44° 40′, a little more or less.[2]

From this place we went to a bay called bay of All Islands,[3]

[1] Halifax harbour, marked on both Champlain's maps—upon that of 1612 as *baye senne*, and upon that of 1632 as *Baye saine*.

[2] This harbour is either Musquodoboit, or Jeddore, the latter being Laverdière's choice. Champlain's appreciation of the port as suitable for large vessels would point to Jeddore, which is a ship-harbour, but the most detailed charts show no island. Musquodoboit inlet does show such an island, *Steering Beach*, just within the entrance on the west side, and connected with the mainland by extensive shoals, said on the chart to be "Sand and mud, bare at low water." The latitude of both Jeddore and Musquodoboit inlet is about 44° 42′.

[3] The bight extending between Beaver and Mary-Joseph Harbour, still called locally *Bay of Islands*, though not marked thus on the maps. The central river of the bay, as shown on Champlain's map of 1612, would represent Moser River, emptying into Nicumtau Bay, or perhaps the fine inlet of Sheet Harbour.

qui peut contenir quelques 14. à 15. lieues : lieux qui sont dangereux à cause des bācs, basses & battures qu'il y a. Le pays est tresmauuais à voir, rempli de mesmes bois que i'ay dict cy dessus. En ce lieu fusmes contrariez de mauuais temps.

De là passames proche d'vne riuiere qui en est distante de six lieues qui s'appelle la riuiere de l'isle verte,[1] pour y en auoir vne en son entree. Ce peu de chemin que nous fismes est remply de quantité de rochers qui iettent prés d'vne lieue à la mer, où elle brise fort, & est par la hauteur de 45. degrez vn quart de latitude.

De là fusmes à vn lieu où il y a vn cul de sac, & deux ou trois isles, & vn assez beau port, distant de l'isle verte trois lieux.[2] Nous passames aussi par plusieurs isles qui sont

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which is some fourteen to fifteen leagues in circumference; a dangerous place on account of the reefs, shoals, and flats there. The land presents a most unattractive appearance, being covered with the same trees I have mentioned above. In this place we were delayed by bad weather.

Thence we passed close to a river distant from the preceding bay six leagues, and called the river of Isle Verte,[1] because it has such an island at its mouth. This short distance we made is filled with numbers of rocks projecting about a league out to sea, which breaks over them strongly. The latitude is 45° 15′.

Thence we went to a place where there is a cove with two or three islands and a rather fine harbour, distant from Isle Verte three leagues.[2] We also passed many islands which lie in

[1] The present St. Mary River, one of the largest in Nova Scotia. The Green Island would be Wedge Island. This identification is confirmed by Denys, who describes the river of St. Mary by name, and mentions Green Island at its mouth (*Description*, 157). The latitude of the mouth of the river is about 45° 3′.

[2] Country Harbour; and Harbour, Goose, and Green Islands which lie on the east side of its entrance. The rather fine harbour would be the one enclosed between the two larger islands and the mainland. The inlet and islands are plainly shown on Champlain's map on Plate LXXXI.

rãgees les vnes proches des autres, & les nommasmes les isles rangees, distantes de l'isle verte de 6. à 7. lieues.[1] En aprés passames par vne autre baye,[2] où il y a plusieurs isles, & fusmes iusque à vn lieu où trouuasmes vn vaisseau qui faisoit pesche de poisson entre des isles qui sont vn peu
p. 157. esloignees de la terre, distantes des isles rangees quatre lieues ; & nommasmes ce lieu le port de Saualette,[3] qui estoit le maistre du vaisseau qui faisoit pesche qui estoit Basque, lequel nous fit bonne chere, & fut tres-aise de nous voir : d'autant qu'il y auoit des sauuages qui luy vouloient faire quelque desplaisir : ce que nous empeschasmes.[4]

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a row one after another, and named them the Ordered Islands, distant from Isle Verte some six to seven leagues.[1] Afterwards we passed another bay,[2] where there are many islands, and came to a place where we found a vessel that was fishing among the islands which lie some distance from the coast and four leagues from the Ordered Islands. This place we named Savalette harbour,[3] after the master of the ship that was fishing there. He was a Basque, who received us well ; and was very glad to see us, inasmuch as some Indians thereabouts wished to do him a bad turn, which we prevented.[4]

[1] These are obviously the line of five or six tiny islets or rocks, all of about the same size and form, ranged in a row along shore just off Eastern Head, to the eastward of New Harbour cove. They are shown very clearly upon the largest scale maps, but are too small to appear on the general maps. Champlain represents them by a single island on his map of 1612. It will be remembered that he gave the same name to another group on the coast of Maine (*cf.* p. 281 *supra*).

[2] Tor Bay, with the Sugar Islands spread across its mouth.

[3] The little port enclosed among the Sugar Islands in Tor Bay. According to Dr. A. C. Jost of Guysboro, this harbour is a safe one and a good centre for the fishery, having fine gravel beaches and good ponds of fresh water. The first settlers are said to have found among the rocks ring-bolts similar to those used for warping and mooring ships.

[4] Lescarbot gives a fuller account of this "fine old sailor," and tells us that it was himself who applied Savalette's name to the harbour. Lescarbot also states that this was Savalette's forty-second voyage to these

Partant de ce lieu arriuasmes à Campseau le 27. du mois, distant du port de Saualette six lieues, où passames par quantité d'isles iusques audit Campseau, où trouuasmes les trois barques arriuees à port de salut. Chāpdoré & l'Escarbot vindrent audeuant de nous pour nous receuoir: aussi trouuasmes le vaisseau prest à faire voile qui auoit fait sa pesche, & n'attendoit plus que le temps pour s'en retourner :[1] cependant nous nous donnasmes du plaisir parmy ces isles, où il y auoit telle quantité de framboises qu'il ne se peut dire plus.

Toutes les costes que nous rengeasmes depuis le cap de Sable iusques en ce lieu sont terres mediocrement hautes, &

Setting out from this place, we reached Canso, distant from Savalette harbour six leagues, on the twenty-seventh of the month. On the way we passed a number of islands extending as far as Canso, where we found the three long-boats safely in port. Champdoré and Lescarbot came out to meet us. We also found that the vessel, having completed her catch, was ready to set sail, and was only waiting for fair weather to return home.[1] Meanwhile we enjoyed ourselves among the islands, on which was such an abundance of raspberries that it would be impossible to exaggerate their number.

All the coasts we had passed from Cape Sable to this place are of moderate height, and bordered with rocks, and,

parts and that he was very successful in his fishery, in which he employed sixteen men and a ship of eighty tons which could carry one hundred thousand dry fish (ii. 362).

[1] The three long-boats, with most of the men and the property of the expedition, had departed from Port Royal some eight days before Poutrincourt and Champlain, who made the long journey from Port Royal to Canso in a shallop with a crew of seven men. As Lescarbot admiringly says, "a wondrous hazardous feat it was to cross so many bays and seas in so small a boat, loaded with nine people, the provisions necessary for the journey, and a good quantity of other baggage" (ii. 364). Lescarbot had accompanied the long-boats. The reunited expedition remained a week at Canso before sailing.

costes de rochers, en la pluspart des endroits bordees de nombres d'isles & brisans qui iettent à la mer par endroits prés de deux lieues, qui sont fort mauuais pour l'abort des vaisseaux : Neantmoins il ne laisse d'y auoir de bōs ports &
p. 158. raddes le long des costes & isles, s'ils estoient descouuerts. Pour ce qui est de la terre elle est plus mauuaise & mal aggreable, qu'en autres lieux qu'eussiōs veus ; si ce ne sont en quelques riuieres ou ruisseaux, où le pays est assez plaisant : & ne faut doubter qu'en ces lieux l'yuer n'y soit froid, y durant prés de six à sept mois.

Ce port de Campseau [1] est vn lieu entre des isles qui est

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in the majority of places, have a fringe of numerous islands and reefs which at times extend out to sea nearly two leagues, making the approach very bad for vessels. Nevertheless there are not wanting good harbours and roadsteads along this coast and amid these islands, if only they were explored. As for the land, it is of worse quality and less attractive than in the other places we had seen, except up certain rivers or streams where the country is fairly pleasant. There can be no question that in these places the winter is cold, and lasts from six to seven months.

This port of Canso [1] is situated among islands, and is very

[1] This name, which makes its first known appearance on p. 234, persists to this day. It is unquestionably of Micmac origin, as Lescarbot affirms. Rand derives it from *Camsōk*, meaning "opposite a high bluff" (*First Reading-Book in Micmac*, 85 ; *English-Micmac Dictionary*, 186), a word easily resolvable into the two roots *kam*, meaning "beyond," and *sōk*, "cliffs," in allusion, no doubt, to its position in regard to the long line of cliffs fringing the south shore of Chedabucto bay. The name is applied by Champlain and Lescarbot not only to the harbour, but to the bay which we now call Chedabucto bay. Champlain (in his map of 1632) and others also apply it to the strait. Cf. *Trans. Royal Society Canada*, VIII, 1914, ii. 260.

Champlain's account of the difficulties of entering this harbour is confirmed by the charts and the *Sailing Directions ;* but when Lescarbot

de fort mauuais abord, si ce n'est de beau tēps, pour les rochers & brisans qui sont au tour. Il s'y fait pesche de poisson vert & sec.

De ce lieu iusques à l'isle du cap Breton qui est par la hauteur de 45. degrez trois quars de latitude & 14. degrez, 50. minuttes de declinaison de l'aimant y a huit lieues ; & iusques au cap Breton 25. où entre les deux y a vne grande baye qui entre quelque 9. ou 10. lieues dans les terres, & fait passage entre l'isle du cap Breton & la grand terre qui va rēdre en la grand baye sainct Laurens, par où on va à Gaspé & isle parcee, où se fait pesche de poisson. Ce passage de l'isle du cap Bretō est fort estroit : Les grands vaisseaux n'y passent point, bien qu'il y aye de l'eau assez, à cause des grands courās & transports de marees qui y sont : & auons nommée

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difficult to approach except in fine weather, on account of the rocks and reefs which lie thereabouts. Fishing for both green and dry fish is here carried on.

From this place to the island of Cape Breton, which lies in latitude 45° 45′ with 14° 50′ of magnetic variation, the distance is eight leagues. To Cape Breton itself it is twenty-five leagues. Between the two is a great bay which penetrates some nine or ten leagues into the country, and forms a passage between the island of Cape Breton and the mainland. This passage leads into the great bay of St. Lawrence, by which one goes to Gaspé and Isle Percée, where the fishery is carried on. This passage of the island of Cape Breton is very narrow. Large vessels do not go that way, although there is plenty of water, on account of the great currents and

mentions that their "vessel had to be warped out by aid of anchors in order that she might not run upon the rocks," he was evidently referring to the sheltered berth in which she had been kept for the summer fishery (ii. 365). Denys, who describes Canso harbour fully, shows that the fishing-vessels were berthed in snug harbours between islands (*Description*, 164).

ce lieu le passage courant, qui est par la hauteur de 45. degrez trois quarts de latitude.[1]

Ceste isle du cap Breton est en forme triangulaire, qui a
p. 159. quelque 80. lieues de circuit, & est la pluspart terre montagneuse: Neantmoins en quelques endroits fort aggreable. Au milieu d'icelle y a vne maniere de lac, où la mer entre par le costé du Nord quart du Nordouest, & du Su quart du Suest: & y a quantité d'isles remplies de grand nombre de gibier, & coquillages de plusieurs sortes: entre autres des huistres qui ne sont de grande saueur. En ce lieu y a deux ports, où l'on fait pesche de poisson: sçauoir le port aux Anglois, distant du cap Breton quelque 2. à 3. lieues: & l'autre, Niganis, 18. ou 20. lieues au Nord quart du Nor-

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tidal movements which occur there. We named this place the Strait of Currents, lying in latitude 45° 45′.[1]

This island of Cape Breton is triangular in shape and about eighty leagues in circumference. For the most part it is a mountainous country, though in certain places very pleasant. In the interior is a kind of lake into which the sea flows from the north a quarter north-west and from the south a quarter south-east. Therein lie many islands filled with large numbers of waterfowl, and shellfish of many kinds, including oysters which are not of good flavour. At this place are two harbours where the fishing is carried on, namely English harbour, some two or three leagues from Cape Breton, and Ingonish, eighteen or twenty leagues to the north a quarter

[1] This account of the Gut of Canso was probably based, in part at least, upon personal observation. Lescarbot (ii. 6) tells us that they went thither "in search of a stream to supply us with water before our return." This visit fell no doubt within the week after Champlain's arrival, in which case he would form one of the party. The latitude of the middle part of the strait is about 45° 37′. Champlain's name does not reappear even upon his own maps; for in that of 1612 he calls it, *Passage du Glas*, and in that of 1632, *Passage de Canceau*. Denys, who knew the place well, gives an account of the supposed dangers of the passage, confirming that of Champlain (*op. cit.*, 170).

douest. Les Portuguais autrefois voulurent habiter ceste isle, & y passerent vn yuer : mais la rigueur du temps & les froidures leur firent abandonner leur habitation.[1]

Le 3. Septembre partismes de Campseau.

Le 4. estions le trauers de lisle de Sable.

Le 6. Arriuasmes sur le grand banc, où se fait la pesche du poisson vert, par la hauteur de 45. degrez & demy de latitude.

Le 26. entrasmes sur le Sonde proche des costes de Brettagne & Angleterre, à 65. brasses d'eau, & par la hauteur de 49. degrez & demy de latitude.

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north-west. The Portuguese formerly attempted to settle upon this island, and passed a winter there : but the rigour of the season and the cold made them abandon their settlement.[1]

On the third of September we set sail from Canso.

On the fourth we were off Sable Island.

On the sixth we reached the Grand Bank, where the green fishing is carried on, in latitude 45° 30′.

On the twenty-sixth we were on soundings near the coasts of Brittany and England, in sixty-five fathoms of water, and in latitude 49° 30′.

[1] Considering that Champlain's account of Cape Breton Island is based wholly upon hearsay, it is surprisingly accurate. Champlain himself never saw more of the island than small parts of the coast. His account of the great interior salt-water lake of the island, Le Bras d'Or, is fairly accurate, although his words imply that it was connected with the sea at the south as well as the north end. His map, however, gives it correctly. The English harbour later became famous as Louisbourg, while Niganis is still well known as Ingonish. This latter name is clearly Micmac, but of unknown significance ; though it will prove, perhaps, to be connected with *Nigumaach*, meaning companions or comrades, referring to the two similar coves at this place. On the Portuguese colony, see Rev. George Patterson's monograph in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, VIII, 1890, ii. 127, and especially 168. The name Cape Breton is a century older than Champlain's time, having originated in the early voyages of Breton fishermen.

Et le 28. relachasmes à Roscou[1] en basse Bretagne, où fusmes contrariés du mauuais temps iusqu'au dernier de
p. 160. Septembre, que le vent venant fauorable nous nous mismes à la mer pour paracheuer nostre routte iusques à sainct Maslo, qui fut la fin de ces voyages, où Dieu nous conduit sans naufrage n'y peril.[2]

Fin des voyages depuis l'an 1604. *iusques en* 1608.

On the twenty-eighth we put in at Roscoff,[1] in lower Brittany, where we were detained by bad weather until the last day of September, when the wind coming fair, we put to sea in order to complete our course to St. Malo. This was the end of these voyages, throughout which God guided us without shipwreck or peril.[2]

End of the voyages from the year 1604 *down to* 1608.

[1] A small seaport some ninety miles west of St. Malo. Lescarbot gives a brief account of the voyage home of the *Jonas*, which was favoured by fair winds (ii. 365).

[2] Lescarbot gives interesting details of their return into France, making graceful acknowledgments to the skill and devotion of their sailing-master, with a comment on the astonishment of an Indian at the sights of France, an account of a visit to Mont St. Michel, and of the presentation to the king of grains and wild geese from Acadia (ii. 365-67).

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